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HERCULANEUM

PAST PRESENT AND FUTURE

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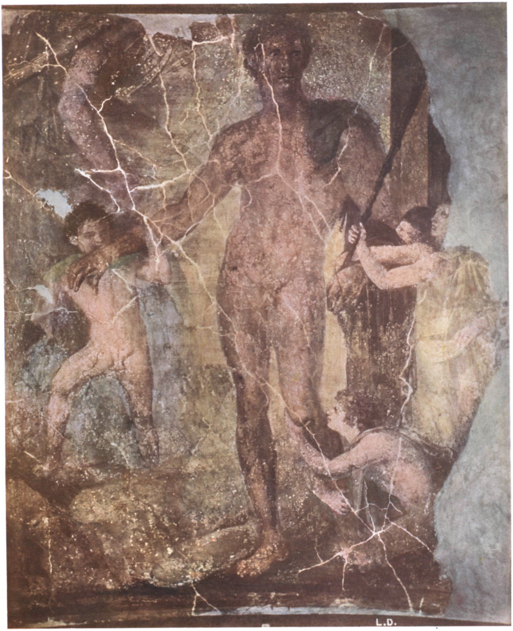

THESEUS. Wall-Painting.

HERCULANEUM

PAST PRESENT & FUTURE

BY

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AUTHOR OF ESSAYS ON THE ART OF PHEIDIAS THE ARGIVE HERAEUM ETC.

AND

LEONARD SHOOBRIDGE M.A.
(BALLIOL COLL. OXFORD)

WITH APPENDIXES

ILLUSTRATED

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1908

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TO

ARRIGO BOÏTO

POET-MUSICIAN

PATRIOT AND CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

Giunto sul passo estremo
Della più estrema età,
In un sogno supremo
Si bea l'anima già:
Re d' un placido mondo,
D' una spiaggia infinita,
A un popolo fecondo
Voglio donar la vita.
Sotto una savia legge
Vo' che surgano a mille
A mille e genti e greggie
E case e campi e ville.
Voglio che questo sogno
Sia la santa poesia,
E l' ultimo bisogno
Dell' esistenza mia.
Mefistofele, *Epilogue*.

PREFACE

HERCULANEUM is to be excavated. The main object for which my colleague Mr. Shoobridge and I have laboured has thus been attained. The Italian Government has decided to undertake the work by itself and at once. It is fully a year since this decision was published and a Commission of highly competent experts was appointed. Let us hope that there will be no further delay in actually beginning this important enterprise.

This book owes its origin to the following circumstances, which also determined its form and contents. While the scheme of an international excavation of Herculaneum was actively pushed forward from 1903 to 1907, I was frequently advised to make my own plan for the excavation known to the public. It was thought that this would increase interest and avoid misunderstandings. But I felt—I believe rightly—that it would be unwise to give any prominence to my own views on so important a matter, because, in the first place, it would have identified the whole project too much with my own personality, a side on which I endeavoured, as far as possible, not to lay stress. In the second place, it would have looked presumptuous in any way to prescribe to the Committees and to the International Staff the modes and methods of carrying out the work. The moment the International Staff, consisting of the best experts in every department and from every part of the world, had been called into existence, it would have been their most important task to consider thoroughly and to determine the actual plan of excavation ; and if my own views could have been of any service, they would then have been submitted to them for their consideration.

Since, in the spring of 1907, the plan of such an international excavation was rejected and the Italian Government had decided to carry out the excavations by itself, my friend and collaborator, Mr. Shoobridge, urged upon me the need for publishing my scheme fully and in a final form. When, furthermore, my friends, Professor and Mrs. J. G. Frazer, arranged for a meeting between myself and Commendatore Boni, I found that even he had in no way realised what had actually taken place during our propaganda, nor had he any adequate notion of the nature of our scheme. He himself felt the need of a full publication of what had been done, and what it was proposed to do, and urged upon me to bring this book before the world as speedily as possible.

Thus in the Introduction I give an account of the reasons which led me to attribute such supreme importance to Herculaneum, as the one site which ought above all others to be excavated, and a succinct account of my plan for the international excavation, as well as of its fate during the three years in which it was brought so near to realisation. The more detailed elaboration of the methods, by means of which I conceive such an international excavation ought to be carried out, is given in the four chapters of Part II. of the book. The history of the propaganda itself has been given succinctly in the Introduction, with the avoidance, as far as possible, of all controversial matters ; whilst in Appendix I. there will be found a selection of actual documents illustrating and verifying the several stages in the enterprise. These documents have been selected from a huge mass of correspondence and from hundreds of newspaper cuttings from every part of the world; and here again, as far as was possible, all matter has been excluded which would fix and prolong controversy. This applies especially to the last phase of the propaganda. On the other hand, it is manifestly necessary to furnish some records of what actually took place, both in the general interest of truth, and in order to show how widespread was the support of this ideal scheme among people of judgment and influence all over the world. I may add that for all the *private* letters printed in the Appendix, permission to publish has been obtained from the writers.

At the same time, it has been and is my firm conviction that the practice and art of excavation itself requires complete reform. The points in which the present methods of excavation are at fault, and the direction in which these reforms can be initiated, would receive their most striking exemplification in such an enterprise as the international excavation of Herculaneum as we conceived it. Herculaneum would thus have become the type to inaugurate a new era in the science and art of excavation. On this account also it seemed important that our convictions should thus be expressed and exemplified.

In order to write on Herculaneum at all it was, however, found necessary to furnish the reader with the material concerning its past history, to bring to his cognisance all that is practically known about this ancient site up to the present moment. In spite of such an excellent publication as Ruggiero's *Scavi di Ercolano*, information concerning Herculaneum is incomplete, and is certainly not accessible. Though we did not presume to write a voluminous work, dealing exhaustively with every aspect of this great subject, we determined to furnish a proper account of what is known of its past, which should be not only interesting to the general public, but be of permanent use to scholars and archaeologists as well. We have accordingly given the four chapters of Part I. dealing with the past, with the topography, the inhabitants of the town and district, the great earthquake of 79 A.D., and the history of the site since that eruption down to our day.

We thought it would also be useful to the student to furnish him with all the passages in ancient authors referring to Herculaneum, and, for the benefit of the general public, we have also given translations of these passages. These will be found in Appendix II.

Furthermore, we deemed it important to provide a list of the principal objects discovered at Herculaneum and deposited in the Museum of Naples, and for this purpose both Mr. Shoobridge and Mr. Robertson spent some time at Naples, carefully studying the collections and consulting the inventories of the Museum. We thought it right to exclude such works, however important and however great the probability that they did come from Herculaneum, which could not be definitely identified from the documents as having been actually found there. The marble statue of the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, for instance, belongs to this class. This list is given in Appendix III.

To illustrate more fully the rich finds which we may expect to make in the villas adjoining Herculaneum, Mr. Shoobridge has drawn up a careful index-guide to accompany the plan of the Villa Suburbana published by Comparetti and De Petra, so that the reader can wander through the different rooms and identify the exact spot where the various treasures of art were discovered. This index-guide is given in Appendix IV.

In compiling a bibliography of Herculaneum, the work done by Forchheim and by Gábrici was of the greatest help to Mr. Shoobridge. The bibliography of this subject is given in Appendix V.

In order, however, to impress upon the reader as vividly and convincingly as possible the wealth and value of the discoveries already made at Herculaneum, and the astounding state of preservation of these objects, we deemed it of paramount importance that numerous and adequate illustrations should be presented. We have thus given ten plates in photogravure (produced by M. Paul Dujardin of Paris), one coloured plate by André and Sleigh, and forty-eight half-tone plates made by the Swan Electric Engraving Company. We must thank Messrs. Brogi, photographers of Florence, for allowing us to use some of their excellent photographs in the production of several plates. These works we selected chiefly with a view directly to impress through the eye upon the reader the splendid harvest of ancient treasures in literature and art which may be expected from the complete excavation of that site. I need hardly add that, from the nature of this book, we could not do more than give a short description of these works, and had to avoid a further discussion. Such an attempt would by itself have led to the production of a volume larger than the one we have actually written, and a partial attempt would have been inadequate and misleading. We reserve the fuller discussion of the works of art found at Herculaneum for a separate publication to be made in the future.

While thus the book as a whole is meant before all things to impress the desirability, nay the moral necessity, of a complete excavation of Herculaneum, it is hoped that it also contains information of some permanent value to the general reader and to the archaeologist and classical student as well.

I may be allowed to seize this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to all those who gave direct or indirect assistance and encouragement to us in our endeavours to realise our international plan as well as in the writing of this book. Most of those who have thus helped us are mentioned in the book; but some are not, and these I should like to thank now. Among such helpers, not adequately mentioned in the book, are my friends Mr. George Leveson-Gower, Sir Edwin Egerton (H.M. Ambassador to Italy), Sir Rennell Rodd (H.M. Minister to Sweden), Baron de Bildt (Swedish Minister to Italy).

I should like to add that, whenever I had occasion to apply to the Foreign Office—be it under Lord Lansdowne with Sir Eric Barrington, or under Sir Edward Grey and Lord Fitzmaurice with Mr. Mallet,—I have always met with the greatest courtesy and readiness to help.

In the writing of this book we have incurred numerous obligations. We must thus gratefully acknowledge the willing and efficient help given us by all the authorities of the National Museum of Naples. We are especially grateful to our friend Professor M'Kenny Hughes, who has allowed us to incorporate some passages from his own unpublished essay on the Geology of Herculaneum in Chapter III. of Part I.; and though his work is there indicated, we feel that we have exceptional cause to be grateful to him for his advice and encouragement. So, too, I should again like here to record my sense of deep gratitude to my friends Professor and Mrs. J. G. Frazer, for the interest they have shown in the making of this book. I have also received help and advice from my friends Dr. Walter Headlam and Mr. Wedd, both Fellows of King's College, Cambridge. Professor von Duhn of Heidelberg has given me some valuable advice on the bibliography of the subject. I wish also gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to the authors and publishers who have allowed us to reproduce illustrations from Beloch's *Campanien* and Comparetti and De Petra's *Villa Ercolanese*, to

Messrs. George Bell for allowing us to reprint the late Sir Richard Jebb's translation of the two letters of Pliny the Younger, and to the Palaeographical Society for the reproduction of papyri. We wish specially to acknowledge the kindness of Professor Beloch for correcting the two maps which we reproduce from his work, so that they now present his latest views on the subject. I am also grateful to my publishers and printers for the help they gave us in the difficult task of producing a book of this kind in comparatively so short a time.

I have kept for the end the expression of our thanks to our friend, Mr. D. S. Robertson, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose help in the collecting of the material as well as in the writing of the book has been to us invaluable. He travelled to Naples and supplemented Mr. Shoobridge's work there, and has shown ability, scholarship, and maturity of judgment which promise well for his future career.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
February 1908.

P.S.—The publication of this book has been delayed owing to circumstances beyond the control of both authors and publishers. I regret to find that up to the present date the excavations at Herculaneum have not yet begun. It is to be hoped that the work will be taken in hand by the Italian Government without further delay.

Since this book has been in the Press the official catalogue of the National Museum of Naples has appeared under the title *Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli.* The book has been written, under the editorship of Sign. A. Ruesch, by the joint-authorship of D. Bassi, E. Gábrici, L. Mariani, O. Marucchi,

G. Patroni, G. de Petra, and A. Sogliano. Among these eminent authorities we are chiefly concerned with the work of Sign. Sogliano (Bronzes and Paintings), L. Mariani (Sculpture in Marble), Ettore Gábrici (Iconography). In the list of the principal objects discovered at Herculaneum, compiled by Mr. Shoobridge and Mr. Robertson, given in our Appendix III., it will be seen that some objects are not mentioned which appear in the *Guida*. This is chiefly due to the fact that our list was designed to mention the *principal* objects. On the other hand, it will be seen that our list includes a number of articles from Herculaneum—especially the objects in gold—which are not mentioned as being from Herculaneum by the *Guida*. In several cases, some of them important, the *Guida* mentions no origin, or assigns some other origin (Pompeii, etc.), to objects which, from a careful study of the inventories, etc., on the spot, we assign to Herculaneum. On the minute controversial matter suggested by these divergences it would not be the purport of our work to enter. On the other hand, in order that the fullest material at present available may be submitted to the student of finds derived, or probably derived, from Herculaneum, we have added to our list complete quotations from the *Guida*. We have also given the reference to the passages in the *Guida* of every item mentioned by them both in our list and in our description of plates, especially as the *Guida* will enable the student to find the chief books and articles in which the works from Herculaneum are published or discussed.

C. W.

June 1908.

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The appearance, since this list was in print, of the official "Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli" has led us to refer to the descriptions of the works of art in that publication by adding the number in the "Guida" (e.g. G. 841) *at the end of our description. This will be especially useful to the student, as the "Guida" gives references to further publications and discussions.*

HELIOGRAVURES AND COLOUR PRINTS

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I. Hermes in Repose. Two views of this well-known and most beautiful ancient bronze statue, probably a direct illustration of the Lysippean art of the second half of the fourth century B.C. Illustrates well the wonderful preservation of the bronzes from Herculaneum. The statue was found in the Villa Suburbana. Hgt. 1.15. Index, No. 5625 (*G.* 841) 4

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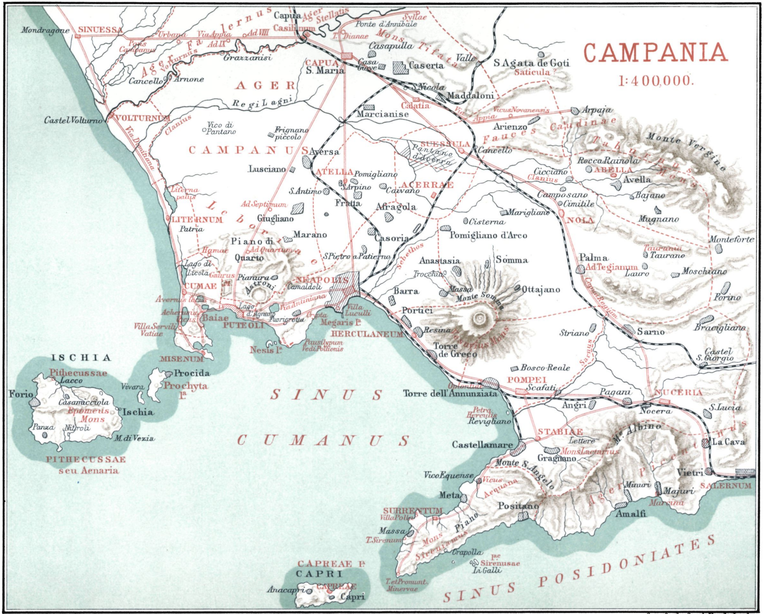
Waldstein's "Herculaneum"


CAMPANIA
1:400,000.
Mondragone
SINUESSA
Urbana
Via Appia
Ad VIII
Ad IX
Pons Campanus
Ager Falernus
Volturnus
Grazzanisi
Cancello
Arnone
Castel Volturno
VOLTURNUM
Via Domitiana
Clanius
Capua
Casilinum
Ager Stellatis
Ponte d'Annibale
Syllae
T. Dianae
Mons Tifata
Casapulla
CAPUA
S. Maria
Casa Gave
Caserta
Valle
S Agata de Goti
Saticula ?
S. Nicola
Maddaloni
Calatia
Marcianise
AGER
Regi Lagni
Vico di Pantano
Frignano piccolo
CAMPANUS
Aversa
Lusciano
ATELLA
Pomigliano
S. Arpino
Caivano
ACERRAE
S. Antimo
Frattà
Afragola
SUESSULA
Pantano d'Acerra
Cancello
Arienzo
Vicus Novanensis
Arpaja
Fauces Caudinae
Monte Vergine
Tabur Mons
Rocca Rainola
ABELLA
Avella
Cicciano
Clanius
Camposano
Cimitile
Bajano
NOLA
Mugnano
Marigliano
Cisterna
Pomigliano d'Arco
Liternà palus
LITERNUM
Patria
Leboriae
Ad Septimum
Giugliano
Marano
Hamae
Ad Quartum
Piano di Quarto
Lago di Licola
Gaurus
CUMAE
Pianura
Astroni
Camaldoli
NEAPOLIS
S. Pietro a Patierno
Casoria
Sebethos
Anastasia
Somma
Trocchia
Massa
Monte Somma
Ottajano
Palma
Ad Tegianum
Lauro
Taurania
Taurano
Moschiano
Monteforte
Forino
Avernus lac.
Acherusia palus
Lucrinus
Baiae
Villa Servili Vatiae
Lago d'Agnano
Fuorigrotta
Via Antiniana
Crypta
Villa Luculli
Megaris I.
PUTEOLI
Nesis I.
Pausilypum
Vedi Pollionis
HERCULANEUM
Barra
Portici
Resina
Vesuvius Mons
Torre de Greco
Striano
Sarnus
Sarno
Bracigliano
Castel S. Giorgio
MISENUM
ISCHIA
Pithecussae
Lacco
Forio
Casamicciola
Epomeus Mons
Ischia
Panza
Nitroli
M. di Vezia
PITHECUSSAE
seu Aenaria
Procida
Vivara
Prochyta I.
SINUS CUMANUS
Bosco Reale
POMPEI
Oplontis
Scafati
Torre dell'Annunziata
Pagani
NUCERIA
Angri
Nocera
S. Lucia
Petra Herculis
Revigliano
STABIAE
Castellamare
Lettere
Mons Lactarius
M. Albino
Gragnano
La Cava
Monte S. Angelo
Ager Picentinus
Vietri
Vico Equense
Vicus Aequana
Minuri
Majuri
SALERNUM
Meta
Positano
Marcina
Amalfi
SURRENTUM
Villa Pollii
Massa
T. Sirenum
Piano
Mons Sirenianus
Crapolla
Ins. Sirenusae
Li Galli
T. et Promunt. Minervae
CAPREAE I.
CAPRI
CAPREAE
Anacapri
Capri
SINUS POSIDONIATES

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Stanford's Geogl. Estabt., London.

PLATE I.

INTRODUCTION

It may fairly be said that all authorities concerned with classical antiquity are agreed that of all ancient sites, without any exception, Herculaneum promises to yield the richest treasure to the excavator. The reasons for this belief in no way rest upon the intrinsic importance of Herculaneum in the ancient world. It was a colony of no great prominence in the period when Greek culture was actively predominant in the Mediterranean basin ; while in the Roman period it cannot claim to have been a provincial town of large size or influence.[1] In this respect it cannot compare in any sense with such sites as Athens or Rome, Delphi or Olympia, Alexandria or Pergamon, nor with any of the cities of historical importance in Greece or Asia Minor, nor with the numerous centres of wealth and culture in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

Nevertheless the excavator has every reason to believe that the artistic treasure to be found, and the intellectual harvest to be reaped, in the thorough excavation of Herculaneum will be greater and more valuable than in any ancient site, including even the great centres mentioned above.

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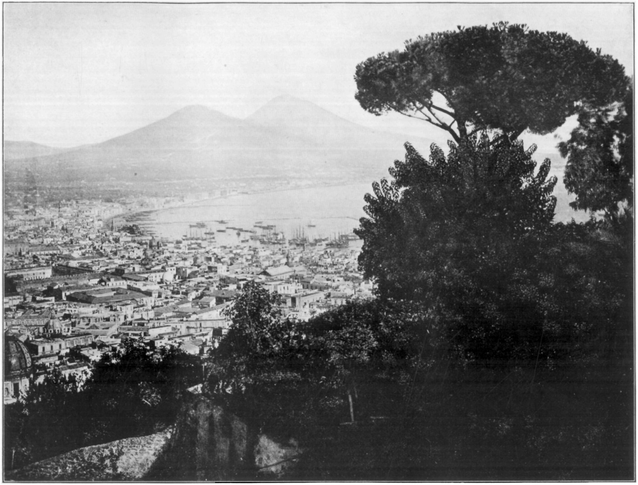
[1] Even in the eighteenth century this was recognised by some. A correspondent sends a letter to the *Mercure de France* of September 1751 (pp. 172 *seq.*) from Brussels, dated January 20, 1751. In it he says : "L'Europe entière souffre impatiemment l'attente dans laquelle on la fait languir depuis dix ans sur le détail des découvertes de l'ancien Herculanum ou Heraclea, comme on dit aujourd'hui à Naples . . . (p. 174) J'accorde à la ville dont nous examinons les ruines, tous les degrés de magnificences qu'elle peut avoir possédés, j'en ai même été témoin et avec étonnement, cependant, tranchons le mot, elle n'a jamais été qu'une petite ville de province, dont le commerce n'a pas même été célèbre."

The position of primary archaeological importance possessed by Herculaneum is maintained even when we consider the other ancient cities grouped round Vesuvius, such as Cumae, Naples, Stabiae, and Pompeii, each of which was a larger centre of ancient political and civic life than Herculaneum. To bring this home by one striking instance we may anticipate the fuller proof, which this book taken as a whole will amply give, and merely point to the fact, that one villa excavated at Herculaneum in the eighteenth century has yielded greater treasure in original ancient bronzes, and more ancient manuscripts, than the excavations of Athens or Rome, Olympia or Delphi, Alexandria or Pergamon. But, in order still further to impress the reader with the justification for this well-founded conviction of archaeologists, we may select the following principal reasons.

The first is to be found in the conditions of its sepulture during the eruption of 79 A.D., which arrested ancient life as it was. The more sudden and complete the catastrophe during the eruption of 79, the greater the chances of finding the actual life of the past arrested and fixed for posterity to discover : the more complete for the ancient inhabitants the sway of Death during those fateful days, the greater the chances of Life—of the resuscitation of ancient life—for the modern explorer. It almost reminds one of the classical conception of the shafts of Apollo, which struck down the living in full vigour, instead of allowing them to waste away in old age or in disease which disfigures and corrupts : thus to be struck down was considered a grace granted by the gods.

Thus the sudden destruction of Herculaneum resulted in the arrestation of the life of that ancient community in its full vigour and completeness—it was, as it were, hermetically sealed and preserved ; and while in other sites we may have an illustration of the one or the other side of ancient life and of man's work, we can never hope to find a picture of life from all sides and in its organic completeness. Moreover,



VIEW OF THE BAY OF NAPLES.

The site of Herculaneum is visible on the slopes of the mountain near the sea.

every ancient city, excepting those of Campania grouped round Vesuvius, has passed through the vicissitudes which centuries of eventful history entail, and those consequent changes which cause the complete destruction or the long transformation of its life and monuments during the Middle Ages down to modern times. The inroads of the barbarous hordes which usher in the Decline of the Roman Empire continue in devastating frequency throughout the Middle Ages down to the very threshold of our own day, when, even in the early nineteenth century, Moorish pirates made raids on the seaport towns of the Mediterranean coast. The changes of rulers—not only Christian and Mohammedan, but among the Christians themselves—and the iconoclastic activity of each successive dominion; the wars and sieges; the sacking and burning and all the wanton destruction in their wake,—when we remember these, we must ask how much of the ancient splendour were we justified in expecting to find under the ruins of modern Rome, the Forum, Athens, Delphi, and Olympia? Think of the wealth of classical treasure massed within the walls of the ancient Byzantium: and what may we hope to find remaining there even if we could level modern Constantinople and dig beneath its ruins? How much would remain of Alexandria, that metropolis of classical culture in later times, even if we could raze the modern city to the ground and dig down (often below sea-level) beneath its soil, *where in the mud the ancient remains lie buried?*

Even without the destructive hand of man, envious Time of itself sees that its own soul of change should feed on the death of the spirit of each age of man and on his works, perennial as bronze, on which he has imprinted his living spirit. Exposed to the vicissitudes of weather, cold and heat, storm and sunshine, they crumble away and lose the clearness and beauty of their features and form. What is upright is levelled to the ground by slow waste and corrosion or by sudden earthquake, and what is hollow is filled in; duststorms and streaming water soon choke and bury what has not crumbled away. When once these works of man are below the covering dust, and vegetable and animal life is buried with them, the organic matter, the biting acids of the earth, eat into the hard bronze to the very heart of its beauteous shape, rasp the smoothly modelled marble, and destroy its subtle grace of line. The dry sands of Egypt are kinder. Yet the sands of Egypt had not to nurse Hellenic Beauty and Truth but as rare and exotic intruders into its ancient life.

But our Herculaneum died young and in full vigour, and its embalmed body was hidden away beyond the hands of all rapacious men, excepting those who long lovingly to restore it to the pristine beauty of its early life. Here Vesuvius, as it were, arrested Time, arrested the hand of man bent on ravage or raised in internecine warfare. Thus were the towns of Campania preserved for posterity by the very agencies which of old caused their destruction.

Among these cities, again, Herculaneum holds a unique position, and has preserved what neither Neapolis, Cumae, Stabiae, nor even Pompeii can ever yield. For the entombment of Herculaneum[1] was both sudden, complete, and secure, and this was not the case with the other Campanian cities nor with Pompeii. A glance at the map of Campania (Plates 1 and 2) will show that Pompeii is about five and three-quarter miles from the foot of Vesuvius, while Herculaneum is considerably nearer, a distance of only four and a half miles. From the account of the catastrophe in the letter of the younger Pliny[2] we learn that Pompeii was ultimately buried by the rain of ashes which the wind, blowing from the north-west, gradually sent over the distant city. The process, though more destructive and terrible, was very similar to that which was seen during the most recent eruption. The inhabitants had every reason to hope that their city might be saved from

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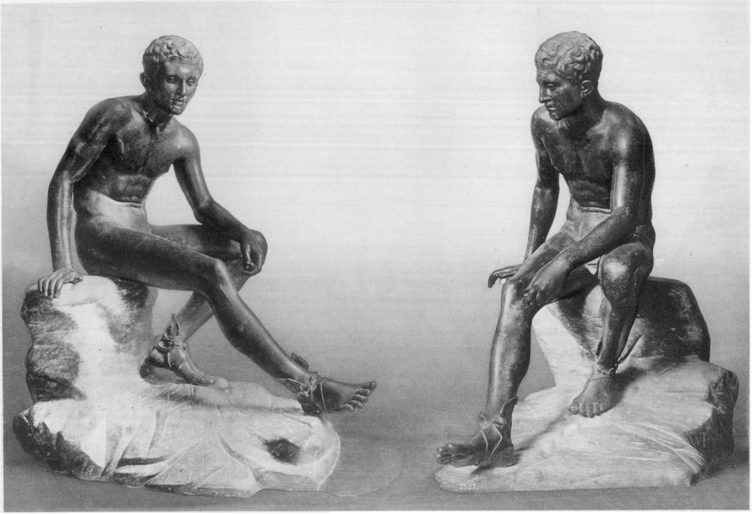
[1] See Part I. Chapter III.

[2] Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16 and 20; Ruggiero, *Scavi d' Ercolano*, 1885, pp. v *seq.* Cf. Chapter III.



Héliog. Dujardin.

Pl. I

Hermes in Repose, Bronze.

total destruction ; so that many of them lingered on, hiding in cellars and elsewhere for some time. Even ultimately the city was not completely buried, the ashes not reaching a greater height than 20 feet,[1] so that the upper storeys of the houses projected after the eruption had ceased. The result was that there was ample time to save and remove all valuables. No doubt the inhabitants returned immediately after the destruction and entered almost every house, clearing it of nearly all furniture and all that was valuable and portable. Even in later times the city was continually approached by easy passages dug into the friable covering, so that hardly a house remains the walls of which were not broken into so as to admit those who were bent upon carrying off its contents. The number of statue-bases that remain, the statues themselves having disappeared, show how even heavy articles were taken from the public places.

In Herculaneum, on the other hand, there is no evidence that there was time to save the valuables ; the statues remain on their bases or are found in close proximity to them. In the lower portions, where the covering was not so thick[2] (nearer the sea, where the newer excavations are now to be seen), there is evidence that attempts were made to excavate and save what was buried.[3] In later times also the workers in the field and those who dug down for wells—as in 1709 such digging led to the finds which initiated the first excavations—were casually and sporadically led to seek for treasure in the buried remains. But the mass of ancient Herculaneum was completely buried to a depth of about 80 feet, which made it impossible for the inhabitants to recover what they had lost. The city was not gradually covered by the rain of ashes lasting for days; but suddenly[1] there appeared the torrent of liquid mud, of ashes mixed with water from the torrential rains or from the lakes and rivulets, along the courses of which it moved down the slope, and this swept all before it. The danger was imminent and unmistakably recognisable by the inhabitants. There could be no hesitation, no wavering or faltering, no hope such as kept the dwellers of Pompeii in their homes for days praying for the cessation of the catastrophe. Thus it was a general *sauve qui peut*, the stream of mud advancing with terrible, relentless slowness, so that there was time to escape from the town, though most of those who could not flee by the sea must have found their death in the fields of the neighbouring country. These conditions explain the circumstance—at first striking us as singular and unexpected—that comparatively so many bodies were found at Pompeii and so few at Herculaneum.[2] The one fact, so important for the question we are considering, remains: that Herculaneum differs from Pompeii in that the treasures and all portable objects, including works of art, remained securely buried at Herculaneum and were not disturbed in later times, while this is not the case at Pompeii.

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[1] Cf. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii: its Life and Art*, 1904, p. 25. Even building materials were carried away. "The large buildings about the Forum were almost completely stripped of their marble." In the theatre of Herculaneum the excavators of 1738 found all the beautiful marble seats.

[2] Bonucci, Giornale di, *R. Scavi d' Ercolano*, No. 2, February 1828; Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 544. Cf. Part I. Chapter III.

[3] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. xi. Cf. below, Part I. Chapter IV.

A second most important point in which the case for Herculaneum is unique among ancient sites—with the exception, perhaps, of Egypt—is the comparatively perfect preservation in which the objects there buried are ready for the hand of the excavator. The stream of liquid mud no doubt swept through the streets and open places and carried before it all detachable objects; some fragments of statues were found in the lower portions of the city towards the sea, having been pressed down from their position higher in the

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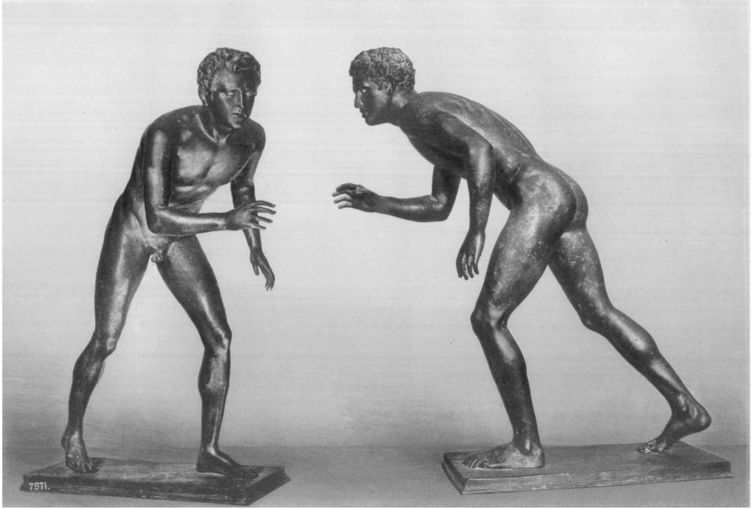
[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. v; Mau-Kelsey, pp. 20, 21. Cf. below, Part I. Chapter IV.

[2] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. v and vi; Mau-Kelsey, p. 23. About 2000 persons are computed to have perished in Pompeii. At Herculaneum, in all only six bodies have been found. Cf. below, Part I. Chapter III.

Pl. II



Héliog. Dujardin.

Wrestler (?), Bronze.

town.[1] But where the objects were not thus removed and stood firm, the plastic mass became a kind of matrix, covering and preserving the forms it enveloped. Gradually it penetrated the houses, and in these, gently, without violent breakage, it filled up the interior, preserving the articles of furniture and decoration from undue pressure and from the corroding influence of moisture and chemical disintegration, except for the carbonisation of wood.[2] It has been maintained that the ashes and pumice-stones (lapilli) reached Pompeii in a hot condition and thus burnt, charred, or destroyed objects. The beams of houses were found charred. But it is also held, with greater justification, that the apparent charring was caused by the chemical action of the soil, and that the pumice-stones would have been cooled during their transit through the air.[3] Be this as it may as regards Pompeii, the fact remains that the actual finds made at Herculaneum during the excavations of the eighteenth century and later, absolutely prove the exceptionally favourable preservative quality of the material covering it. The numerous bronzes to be seen in the Museum of Naples have the most delicate *patina* preserved with a freshness sometimes approaching the quality of their original production.[4] When one remembers the pitiful state in which in most excavations bronzes appear, not only with their surface *patina* destroyed, but with their outline and design vitiated, one looks forward with the keenest delight to the prospect of the finds of these rarest works of ancient skill which are nearest the original masterpieces of Greek art. For we must never forget that by far the greater number of extant marble statues are later Hellenistic or Roman copies of Greek originals. We find, moreover, that glass is not melted, marble is not calcined, and, above all, that rolls of manuscripts, though carbonised or discoloured, are not damaged beyond the possibility of their restoration to a state in which they can be read.

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[1] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. vi. Cf. below, Part I. Chapters III. and IV.

[2] Dall' Osso, article in the *Tribuna*, January and February 1907.

[3] Mau-Kelsey, p. 22. Cf. Part I. Chapter III.

[4] Our illustrations of the seated Hermes (Plate I.), the Wrestler (Plate II.), the Fauns (Plate III.), the various bronze busts, will amply bring this characteristic quality of Herculaneum bronzes home to the reader.

Here we come to one of the most important and exceptional features of Herculaneum, which, moreover, is one of the chief reasons why we consider this site so unique. No doubt we have all been rejoiced by the rich harvest of important manuscripts which have of late years been discovered in Egypt, where the nature of the soil favours the best preservation of these delicate objects. Our hopes have been justly raised that the future may have further important additions to ancient literature in store for us from this quarter. But these manuscripts necessarily come in isolated numbers and in fragmentary condition from the nature of their use in the tombs and round the mummies of ancient Egypt. Quite different is the case of Herculaneum. Here in one villa about 800 manuscripts were found together forming the library of one man.[1] Unfortunately, the possessor of this villa was a specialist and not a man of all-round culture; he was a student of ancient thought, in which he again specialised in Epicurean philosophy. The result is that a very large proportion of the manuscripts treat of that subject.[2] Imagine a modern student who collected sermons, and left a future excavator to discover a whole library consisting exclusively of this edifying literature, which, however, can hardly be said to be fully representative of the thought or life of our age. But all the rich dwellers in the villas of Herculaneum were not such specialists; and should we come upon the library of an ordinary lady or gentleman of the age, we may certainly expect to find the classical representatives of ancient thought and literary art. All the great Greek tragedians or writers of comedy (including Menander) may be there waiting for us in their completeness. The works of the early Greek philosophers, Heracleitus, Parmenides, Empedocles, Demo-

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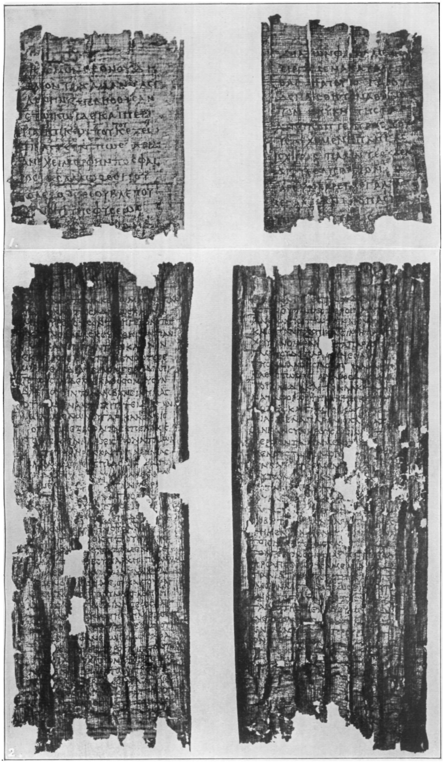
[1] See for specimen, Plate 3. Cf. Part I. Chapters I. and IV.

[2] Comparetti and De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese*, p. 75.



HERCULANEUM MANUSCRIPTS. PLATE 3.

Two fragments from Metrodorus' περὶ αἰσθήσεων, and two from Philodemus' περὶ σημείων καὶ σημειώσεων.

critus, Anaxagoras, and all the treasures of thought only known to us from fragmentary lines in later writers; the missing works of Plato and Aristotle (what would one not give to see a complete *Poetics*?); the whole of Roman literature, the lost books of Livy,—one hardly dares to allow one's imagination to roam in these dazzling fields of classical light. Nor is it impossible that we may find contemporary records, letters referring to the rise and the early years of Christianity. All this seems to await us. At least we are forced in conscientious sobriety to the conviction that the mere promise makes it the duty of the whole of civilised humanity to strain every nerve in view of the possibility of such discoveries.

The presence of these libraries brings us to a further point of difference between Herculaneum and Pompeii which constitutes another important ground for the exceptional position of our site. Pompeii was a thriving provincial town, essentially commercial in character and tone. Though possessed of a certain luxury, it was distinctly devoid of higher culture. It is a most striking confirmation of this, that among all the numerous finds made at Pompeii there has not been a single manuscript. Ruggiero[1] maintains that there were traces of manuscripts at Pompeii, and that their absence is entirely due to the less favourable conditions for preservation there as compared with Herculaneum. We do not share this opinion. It is true there were wax tablets; but these were the account-books of an auctioneer.[2] Herculaneum, on the other hand, though smaller as a town than Pompeii, was distinctly not a commercial centre. Beloch[3] draws attention to the marked quantity of shops and commercial warehouses, the manifest dwellings of merchants, found in large numbers at Pompeii. As a town Herculaneum was immediately under the active protection of such families as the Balbi,[1] prominent in the Roman state and representatives of the highest culture. But especially its salubrious climate attracted the leaders of the Roman world such as Servilia, Agrippina, the Consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, who built their villas at its walls or in immediate proximity, and these would be filled with works of art and libraries of which the one villa attributed by Comparetti and De Petra to L. Calpurnius Piso gives us a foretaste. Even this villa was not completely excavated, and one of the first tasks will be to complete its excavation. To find an analogy to the character of Herculaneum in modern life we can best turn to Newport, where the wealthy citizens of America have grouped their splendid villas round the old colonial town. Pompeii, on the other hand, corresponds to the ordinary commercial town in the provinces—though the traders of America, even in the provinces, would be far more advanced as patrons of literature and art than were those of ancient Rome, who had a patrician class, unknown in America, above them, and were satisfied to leave the cultivation of the higher amenities of life to their political and social superiors.

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[1] *Della Eruzione, etc.*, p. 22.

[2] Mau-Kelsey, p. 498.

[3] *Campanien*, p. 224. Cf. Part I. Chapter II.

A last reason for the greater promise in the excavation of Herculaneum compared with that of Pompeii, upon which writers like Beulé and Dall' Osso lay considerable stress, is the contention that Herculaneum was a Greek settlement while Pompeii was Oscan. The most conclusive ground for the belief in its Hellenic origin lies in the name[2]—as at Cumae, Dicaearchia (Puteoli), Parthenope (later Neapolis),—so that Heracleion (this and similar names occurring more than once in the Hellenic world) distinctly points to a Greek origin. Dall' Osso adduces as a further argument the adoption of the Hippodamian system of laying out the town, while in Pompeii we have the Etruscan system. We shall consider

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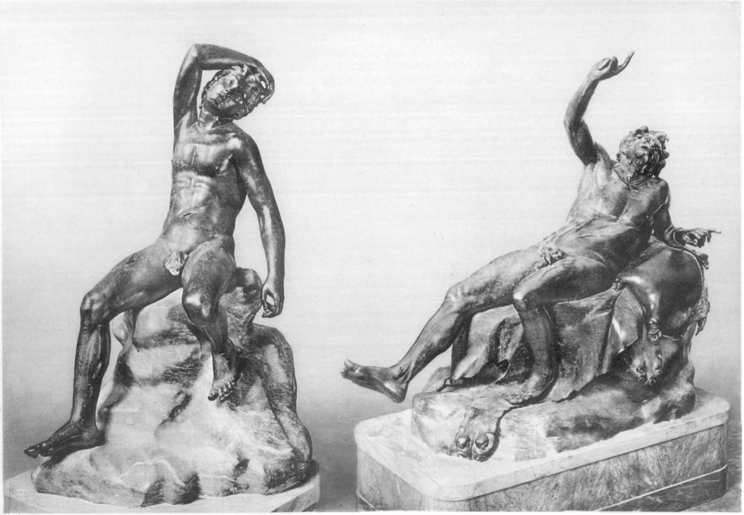
[1] Cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 221 ff. Cf. Part I. Chapter II.

[2] Beulé, *Le Drame du Vésuve*, pp. 246 *seq.*; Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 218; Dall' Osso, *Tribuna*, passim.



Héliog. Dujardin.

Sleeping Faun and Drunken Satyr, Bronze.

Pl. III

below the objections to this argument.[1] The conclusion drawn from this is that Greek traditions, preserving the essence of Hellenic civilisation, were continuously maintained in their vitality. Though this is not without probability, we hold that it would have been chiefly through the revival and domestication of Hellenic civilisation, its art and literature, during the Augustan period at Rome, and through the leading Romans who made their home at Herculaneum, that Greek art and literature became established in that city.

One thing remains certain: that the finds from Herculaneum furnish a fuller illustration of specifically Greek culture and art than do those of Pompeii. Wickhoff maintains that the paintings found in Rome and at Herculaneum are superior in quality to those of Pompeii.[2] This cannot, under present conditions, be finally settled; for the buildings containing paintings are too few in number, and the examples of painting too isolated, to admit of such a comparison between them and those of Pompeii.[3] Still, nothing from Pompeii seems to me more strikingly to convey the impression of the distinctive characteristics of Greek art than the paintings on marble given in our Plates 4 and 5. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the works found at Herculaneum (not only in the one villa, but in the town as well) illustrate a distinct love of Greek art as such on the part of the inhabitants. We have representative work of every period of Greek art, from archaic sculpture, from the great fifth century B.C., statues and busts typical of the art of the fourth century B.C., and of every subsequent period. This feature of Herculaneum finds is fully shown in the selection of works which we have chosen for illustration in our plates. Whether this means that Greek culture was continuously maintained from the early Greek foundation of the town to its destruction, or that the tradition of such an origin predisposed the inhabitants to facilitate the domestication of Greek culture and art more readily in their midst, or whether it was due to the prominent Roman dwellers in the villas and the town who were themselves patrons of Greek art, the fact remains that, from the actual finds made in earlier excavations, we are justified to hope, nay, bound to expect, that discoveries of valuable works of Greek art will be made in the future, and this to a far higher degree than at Pompeii or any other site hitherto known in classic lands.

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[1] Dall' Osso, *Tribuna*, January 29, 1907; and below, Part I. Chapters I. and II.

[2] *Roman Art* (translated by Mrs. Strong), p. 143.

[3] Professor Herrmann of Dresden, whose studies on ancient wall-painting (*Denkmäler der Malerei des Alterthums*) promise to be the most thorough and exhaustive of any yet made, has kindly communicated to me his views on this question. While fully recognising the excellence of the Herculanean paintings, he points to their small number and to the fact that they come chiefly from two buildings or sites. He admits that nothing has yet been found at Pompeii like the four "Cabinettstücke" from Herculaneum, though the friezes of the Casa dei Vetti approach them closely. He, however, holds that several Pompeian wall-paintings surpass those from the Herculanean Basilica. Such are: those from the Atrium of the Casa del Poeta Tragico, the great Triclinium of the Casa di Marco Lucrezia, those from the Casa del Citarista, and those in the Casa dei Dioscuri. In short, he believes that we only have individual instances in the case of Herculaneum which do not admit of such wide generalisation as is made by Dr. Wickhoff; while out of the mass of works from Pompeii a comparison might lead to the preference of Pompeian painting. I quite agree with this opinion. Only it must be remembered that if, on the one hand, the excavations of Herculaneum should hitherto have yielded but few paintings, it is, on the other hand, curious, and may be significant, that these individual specimens should all be of comparatively such high quality, equal to, if not surpassing, the best specimens from Pompeii; while Pompeii, with its great quantity of paintings, has yielded few works of a higher class and a large number of decidedly inferior art. In fact, the vast majority of Pompeian paintings is of inferior artistic quality, and might be described as un-Hellenic; the few specimens found at Herculaneum are all of superior quality and are characteristically Hellenic.

These are the main grounds supporting our contention that Herculaneum is, above all other sites, the one which must be explored because of the exceptional results to be expected from its complete and systematic excavation. All that we can glean from the ancient authorities is entirely borne out by the excavations carried on in the eighteenth century under the Bourbons, and by the subsequent attempts on a smaller scale.[1] Though these first excavations were at times conducted with far more system and intelligence than is generally attributed to them, as excavations they no longer exist for us. For, with

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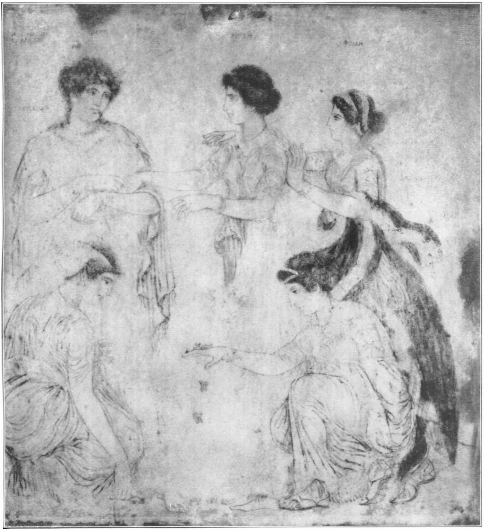
[1] See below, Part I. Chapter IV.



MONOCHROME PAINTING ON MARBLE. PLATE 4.

Latona. Astragala-players. Greek work.

the exception of the underground passages of the theatre, the work has all been filled in again and partly even built over, and it required the scholarly and searching labours of a Ruggiero and De Petra to identify to a considerable degree the points where this earlier work had taken place. But, at the time, the enthusiasm throughout the whole civilised world was intense and universal. The eloquence and the justified reputation of such leaders as Winckelmann greatly contributed to this.[1] In England the Prince of Wales, subsequently George IV., himself sent a mission to the scene of excavation, and undertook at his own cost to further the publication of the manuscripts, his envoy being the Rev. John Hayter, who devoted himself for years to this task.

After a pause of fifty years several further attempts at excavation were made, first in 1828 at a point where digging had already taken place in the eighteenth century.[2] But after a few houses had been cleared the work flagged, and was given up completely in 1855. From 1869 to 1875 it was again resumed vigorously, and resulted in the greater part of the "Scavi Nuovi"[3] representing the parts which are now visible. Since 1875 no further attempts have been made, and all idea of a complete excavation of Herculaneum was practically abandoned, though occasionally a powerful voice, such as that of Beulé,[4] was raised in its advocacy. But the general attitude, even of the archaeologist, is represented by the words of Beloch:[5] "The newly discovered Pompeii began more and more to absorb all interest, and the work at

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[1] Comparetti and De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese*, pp. 58 ff. Cf. Part I. Chapter IV.

[2] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, p. 537. Cf. Part I. Chapter IV.

[3] Ruggiero, *Scavi, etc.*, pp. xlvi ff., and cf. Chapters I. and IV. See Plates 6 and 7.

[4] Beulé, *Le Drame du Vésuve*, pp. 245 *seq.*

[5] *Campanien*, 2nd ed. 1890, p. 227: "Das neuentdeckte Pompeii beginnt mehr und mehr alles Interesse zu absorbiren, und die Arbeiten in Herkulanum schlafen allmählig ein, um nie wieder aufgenommen zu werden. Von allen in den Jahren 1738-1766 ausgegrabenen Gebäuden ist heut nur das Theater noch zugänglich. Der Grund davon liegt zum Theil in der Lage der alten Stadt unter den Häusern des heutigen Resina, die eine Aufdeckung Herkulanums in der Art wie Pompeii wohl für immer unmöglich macht."

Herculaneum gradually lapsed into sleep, never again to be seriously resumed. Of all the buildings discovered between 1738 and 1766 only the theatre is accessible. The reason for this lies partly in the situation of the ancient city under the houses of the modern Resina, which presumably makes it for ever impossible to lay it bare in the manner of Pompeii."

It is, in truth, inexplicable how, after the wonderful finds at Herculaneum in the eighteenth century and the enthusiasm then aroused, the work should not have been resumed with greater exertions, and the world should have become resigned to leave these treasures for ever undiscovered. The main reasons for this are to be found, in the first place, in the fact that Pompeii, with the facile means of its excavation, yielded so many tangible results in the way of buildings, etc., that it soon became the most important Campanian excavation, thus years ago superseding the earlier work at Herculaneum, from which latter site it derived much of the glory that pertains to it now. For the general public believes that the great treasures in the Museum of Naples come from Pompeii, or, at least, they group the two sites together in their mind. The ease with which that site is excavated, coupled with the comparatively small sum which has to be devoted to the work there, led the Italian authorities, perhaps wisely, to concentrate their attention and energy on it. But we must remember that, even on that scale, we may compute that the whole of the present century will have passed before Pompeii is completely uncovered.[1]

In the second place, the erection of the town of Resina over the ancient site has made its excavation, if not impossible, at least attended with such enormous cost and such inconvenience to the inhabitants, that the Italian authorities could not reasonably be expected to make such a stupendous sacrifice, especially in view of the numerous responsibilities in archaeological work, and the expense which they have

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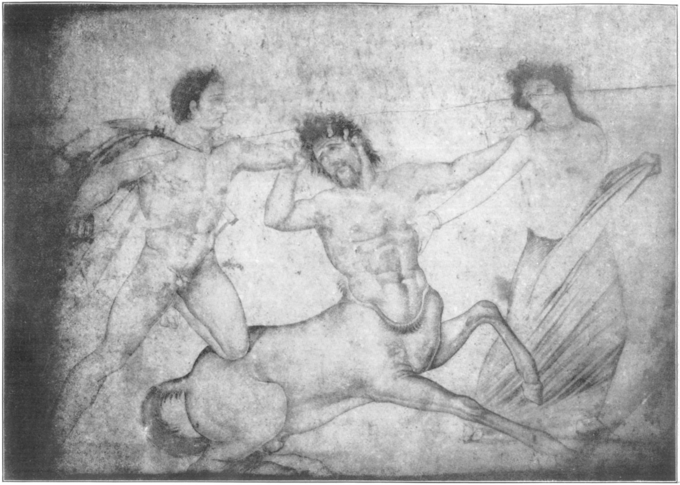
[1] Mau-Kelsey, p. 29.



MONOCHROME PAINTING ON MARBLE. CENTAUROMACHIA.

Greek work.

PLATE 5.

incurred, and will have to incur for many years to come, in every part of their country. Finally, at some time or other, the belief has sprung up (we have in vain endeavoured to discover its definite origin)[1] that the ancient Herculaneum was covered by a solid and impermeable mass of lava, and that thus, while Pompeii can be excavated with comparative ease, Herculaneum presents insuperable difficulties. That this belief is absolutely unfounded, we shall see.[2] The lava which may have covered the surface of Resina in the seventeenth century is to be found in patches above the actual covering of the ancient remains. Where it occurs, it may, under certain conditions of excavation, even be highly favourable, by producing a solid supporting mass above. But the belief that this circumstance is a reason why Herculaneum cannot be excavated is so widespread that we have hardly met any layman who did not at once put it prominently forward as such a reason.

In view of the overwhelming grounds for which Herculaneum ought, above all other sites, to be excavated, these objections should on no account stand in the way. For many years I have been convinced that the complete and systematic excavation of Herculaneum was one of the few great tasks to which civilised humanity ought to devote its best energies. I was convinced that, in spite of all difficulties inherent in the conditions of the volcanic covering and in the presence of Resina above the remains, the task could be fulfilled. Always present in my mind, the plan took a more and more definite shape. It seemed to me quite out of the question that Italy by herself—in fact any one of the great nations, even the richest among them—could be expected to grapple with the stupendous difficulties in the way of its realisation. These difficulties were not only concerned with the enormous financial means needed, but with the necessity of furnishing a concentrated band of experts in every department to make up the staff, in such large numbers, that no one nation could provide them, nor could be expected to support them when at work. The work would thus have to be undertaken on a scale hitherto unknown in the history of excavation.

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[1] Beulé, *op. cit.* pp. 250 *seq.*, gave a most convincing refutation of the current view.

[2] See below, Part I. Chapters III. and IV.

This at once brings us face to face with another question, of the greatest importance to the development of archaeological science, and, through it, to the general advancement of knowledge; and this became in my mind inseparably interwoven with my conception of the excavation of Herculaneum.[1] This is the reform of our whole system of excavations, and of the methods we apply before, during, and after the actual work of digging. During the course of my work it has for years been impressed upon me that the art or science of excavating has seriously lagged behind the times, to the detriment of the actual prosecution of the work of digging, and especially of the accuracy and completeness of the information to be derived from it. For I maintain that, while all the experimental and mechanical sciences have within the last few generations been improved and have kept pace with all the discoveries of modern times, archaeological excavation has remained—to use an analogy of warfare—in the cross-bow stage as compared with the modern repeating rifle. This has certainly been the case in the excavations which I myself undertook; and though some of my colleagues may have been better equipped than I was, it is only a question of degree and not of kind in which we differed. We may, surely, demand that the same intelligence and material advantages be applied to such important and delicate work as are brought to bear upon the construction of roads and railway-tunnelling. But further, beyond the mere excavation itself, the objects which are found ought to have the benefit of all that modern science can apply to them. This is not the place to enter into details with regard to the means which naturally suggest themselves, and to the manner and mode in which these reforms are to be effected—reforms which will not make research mechanical, which are not primarily meant to accelerate the work, and in no sense stand in the way of the most thorough study ; on the contrary, they furnish the only means for the systematic elaboration of what the spade of the excavator presents to the archaeologist. Only so can our observation and study become truly methodical and exact, and yield results adequate to the rich material for knowledge that lies within our reach. The vastness of the enterprise, the huge scale of work necessitated by the conditions of its execution, necessarily lead to a reconsideration and reorganisation of the methods of excavation. And thus this important and fundamental reform of a department of archaeological science necessarily became associated in my mind with the plan of an excavation of Herculaneum, which, if carried into effect, would be not the smallest of the advantages arising out of that great scientific enterprise.

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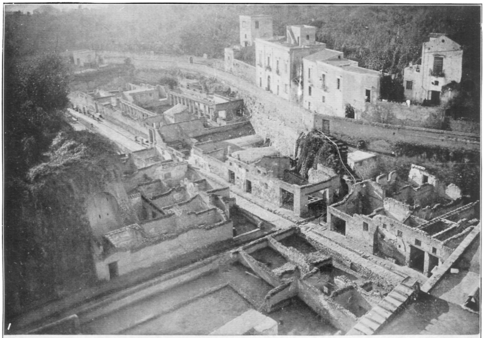
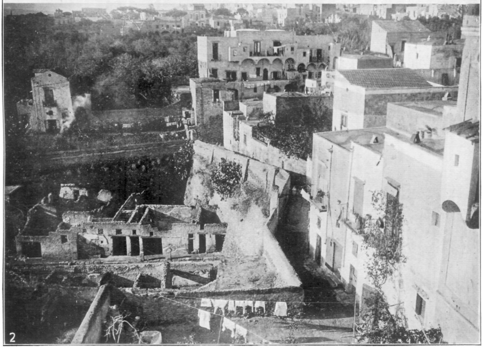
[1] For the fuller treatment of this question see Part II. Chapter I.

Moreover, while the excavation was proceeding, the constant presence at every point of experts supervising the work became in my conception of the reformed methods an absolute necessity. At the same time, the care and elaboration of the objects discovered required the presence of an equal number of experts. I should roughly estimate that the staff should consist of at least a hundred experts and students. Now, apart from the enormous financial sacrifice, it seemed impossible for any one country—even one so rich in the experts required as is Italy—to provide this large number, and to support them while at work. More and more the only conceivable way by which Herculaneum could be restored to the light of day which presented itself to my mind was that of international co-operation under the predominant guidance of Italy, and in accordance with Italian laws.

This international aspect of the undertaking necessarily arose out of the exceptional conditions which would make the excavation of Herculaneum possible. But for itself and in itself it appeals to the ardent and enthusiastic support of the best that is in all thoughtful and honest men who can look further and rise higher than their own immediate hearthstone, whether personal, communal, or national; it became inextricably interwoven with the whole idea of the excavation of Herculaneum, an essential feature in the whole plan. And how worthy of such enthusiastic acceptance and support is the idea of international co-operation in the cause of science and art! Who will gainsay what is constantly repeated by leaders of politics and of thought all over the world, that Science and Art know no national boundaries? Here, moreover, we have the type for this unifying element of Science and Art: for we should be working together on the very soil on which our common civilisation rests, and our object would be to restore the living testimonies of culture which belong to us all. We may differ in language (even here the roots or essential elements have been taken from the same sources by most of us), in religion, in political institutions and aims, in customs, in manners, and in material interests; but we all have—in our best moments—the same ideas of the value of Art and Science, the same ideals as to the pursuit of the Beautiful and the True out of which, or on which, our conceptions of the Good must grow, or by which they must be tested and modified. They have come to us from Hellas, to a great extent as they have passed through Rome or the Italian land.

Such a united effort of civilised nations would become the type for other co-operation in the domain of Science and Art where now there is wastefulness—often ineffectiveness—of national or individual effort, sometimes even leading to antagonism where there ought but to be union. In this time of the maleficent recrudescence of Chauvinism, as stupid and as vapid in its argument and claim to racial or historical





TWO VIEWS OF SCAVI NUOVI, WITH HOUSES OF RESINA ABOVE. PLATE 7.

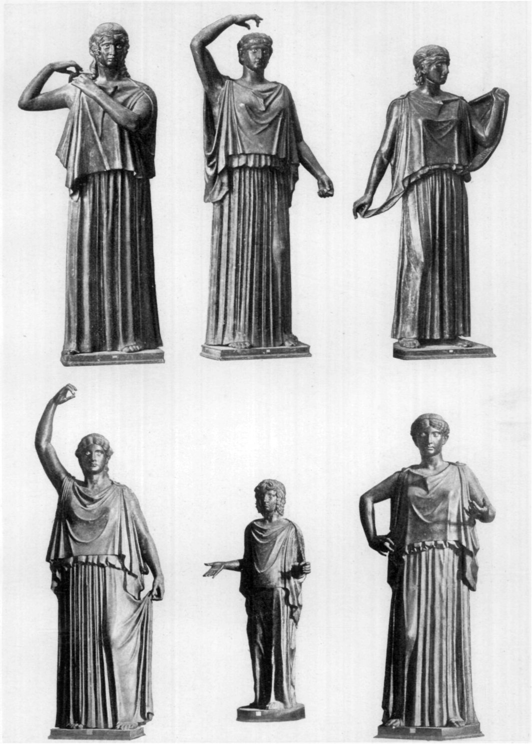
foundation as it is baneful to the best that is in man and in men, to have before the eyes of the world such a scene of common labour in an ideal cause, actually to see, and to have our interest aroused and kept alive by, the representatives of all nations toiling together on that ancient site, with the most modern appliances and the ingenuity born of modern discovery,—to see this peaceful co-operation of the peoples of the world to effectuate our common ideals, this would do more for the advance of mankind and the peace of the world than all the Hague Conferences, noble as their task is.

Could there be any opposition to such a movement? Could any national self-respect, or even national vanity, be touched? We can well conceive—nay, we can sympathise with—the feeling which nations have of the responsibility which the inheritance left for them in the soil of their fatherland brings with it. *Noblesse oblige* applies to those who have great traditions to uphold, whether individuals or nations. In any case it is a duty to live up to rather than a privilege to be proud of. The Italian people and the Italian Government have been living up to this duty as regards their inherited art and antiquities; they have made, and are making, greater material and moral sacrifices for such purposes than any other nation, including the richest and most populous. But there are limits to the power of such sacrifice. If Italy were to proceed at the present high pressure of archaeological activity for several centuries, it could not cope with all the tasks actually before it for the excavation and preservation of its classical sites and remains in the peninsula and in Sicily—without taking into account all the important work that is to be done on prehistoric sites. The importance of the latter and the urgency of the need to excavate them fully are growing every day. There are, furthermore, the early Christian and mediaeval antiquities to be dealt with seriously: until later ages, which are now material for the historian, will in their turn demand the work of the excavator and archaeologist. Meanwhile, not only will the present and future generations be deprived of those priceless treasures of light which widen and enrich their mental and moral horizon, but the work delayed becomes more difficult: sites are built over and rise in value, and the methods of excavation with limited means and on a small scale make the proper restoration to the light of day of many of the most important centres of life impossible, or at least improbable. Still, we can understand the opposition felt to see the "foreigner" (if such we choose to consider and to call him in the domain of Science and Art) come into "our" country and excavate its remains. We might each of us be asked, how in our turn we should like such an intrusion into our national home?

Here, however, we must always remember one of the essential differences between the position of the nations inhabiting the soil of ancient classical civilisation and all others. A comparatively small expenditure of work and treasure will fulfil the task of archaeological excavation in non-classical countries such as England and the United States; and it is their national duty to accomplish more than they have hitherto done. But we must never forget that the antiquities there found are specifically of a national, not an international, character; or, rather, that they cannot claim to form a direct and integral part of the past of the other civilised nations of the world. This is emphatically not the case with the classical remains of Italy. As we have seen, they form an essential part of what is fundamental to the civilisation of all Western nations—they are an organic part of our past. In this inheritance Italy holds the place of the eldest son; the other European nations are the younger brothers. The eldest son is the responsible curator; but he cannot and will not refuse some share of interest to the younger members of the European family: he has a right to expect that they should show an effective interest in their common inheritance; he might, if he so chose, call upon them to make some sacrifice in maintaining it in its integrity, especially when this object demands efforts far beyond his own power of fulfilment.

Even taking all this into account, we can conceive that there would be some hesitation in admitting the intrusion into their land, digging into that very land, of foreign archaeologists who are distinctly and manifestly representative of foreign nationalities. There may even be other reasons justifying such hesitation. Though there can be no doubt as to the brilliant results in archaeological research achieved by the different schools and national institutes in Greece and Italy; and though ultimately the interest thus kept alive in our common past, the widening of knowledge and the refinement of culture, are wholly good and tend to bring the civilised nations together; though nobody can withhold his grateful admiration from the nations and the individuals who achieved the great excavations of Olympia and Delphi, Mycenae, Tiryns, Hissarlik and Cnossus, to the Governments who founded their national schools in Athens and in Rome to foster higher archaeological research, opening their hospitable doors to their colleagues of all nations,—still, we may sometimes doubt whether the *immediate* result may not often tend to accentuate national differences, to separate the different nationalities, and to encourage the hateful sway of Chauvinism. We may even occasionally doubt whether this method of carrying on excavation has not its disadvantages in its bearing upon the preservation and elaboration of the sites discovered and the objects found. I am far from convinced that the immediate effect upon the workers themselves—the rivalries in securing what are thought desirable sites; the appeal to the instincts of jealousy, which are, alas! so deeply imbedded in the hearts of nations and of individuals, when the finds are compared with one another; the jealous guarding of the objects in order to secure exclusively national publication as some recompense for the sacrifice made; the reflection of the workers' spirit upon their countrymen who are justly proud of the success of those whom they sent out to represent them scientifically—emulation degenerating into rivalry,—I am far from convinced, in view of these facts, that the effect is perfect from the point of view of what I should like to call international ethics. The reverse of the medal may at times show us the hideous features of international jealousies, vanities, and even intrigues. I think that an institution, owing its origin to the admirable capacity and enthusiasm of one individual—I mean Dr. Dohrn's Zoological Station at Naples—has, from the nature of its international organisation, avoided all these dangers which impede the best results in work and block the way to the realisation of higher ideals for the civilised nations. My experience, when for some years I had the honour of being Director of the American School at Athens, while at the same time retaining my academic post at the University of Cambridge, led me years ago to hope that, as a beginning in the right direction, because of the practical facility with which such a union might have been effected, the British and American Schools at Athens might have been combined into some form of confederation, if not federation. Apart from the higher and more remote effect of such a closer union in the domain of science, the practical economy in buildings, libraries, general apparatus, and in the teaching staff, would naturally have recommended such a scheme in a case where teachers and students speak the same language. At all events, in the case of excavations it would be desirable that foreign bodies should cease to be foreign national bodies when they work in any land, and should each and all co-operate with the dwellers in the land, the custodians of the past traditions of civilisation which are common to us all. There would then be no ground for national sensitiveness, and still less for national Chauvinism, on the part of the people who receive

Pl. IV



Héliog. Dujardin

Six Decorative Bronze Statues ("Dancing Maidens")

foreign co-operation and offer scientific hospitality to the whole civilised world.

In the case of excavations, another consideration must be emphasised in this connection. It is not only important to excavate, but also to preserve the monuments and objects which have been excavated. When once foreign bodies have completed their excavation, their authority and their responsibility seem to have ended. I can show that such a result is disastrous.[1] The evils which arise from this state of affairs would be obviated if all foreign excavations were undertaken with the co-operation of the country in which those objects are to be preserved, so that the responsibility should not end the moment the objects have been brought to the light of day.

All these doubts and objections could not apply to the scheme of an international excavation of Herculaneum in co-operation with, and under the leading guidance of, the Italian authorities themselves. There could not be anything in any sense derogatory to the national honour or self-respect of the Italian nation. On the contrary, it would add to the glory of Italy to have thus led the way in a new departure, which would tend to unite the civilised peoples in the domain of culture, would elevate "international ethics," and would bring us a step nearer to the ideals which all right-minded people profess to hold.

All these considerations combined strengthened my conviction that Herculaneum could only, and ought only, to be excavated by the co-operation of all civilised nations; and so the plan for this enterprise was gradually evolved and matured, and took the following shape, which I now give in outline.[2]

In order to raise the great sums necessary and to secure the international staff, committees were to be formed in all the countries of Europe and America. These committees, in no way political, were nevertheless to be thoroughly representative of each nation, of every class and vocation among the people. The educational effect upon the people in thus having their interest led into a sphere far removed from their material desires, in having it aroused in a great spiritual and refining cause, was of itself a consideration of the utmost importance. Though there was no reason why in some countries a contribution or subsidy from the State should necessarily be excluded, still this was to be made in a national and not in a political spirit, and was not to exclude contributions from the citizens of the country. Nor was the work to be undertaken by the munificent donation of the whole sum required by one man of excessive wealth; not only because this would not give the great moral and educational advantage to the nation thus contributing, but because in the mere material presentation of "foreign" money, without the accompanying and dominant reason of scientific co-operation, the national sensitiveness of a self-respecting people might perhaps justly be wounded.

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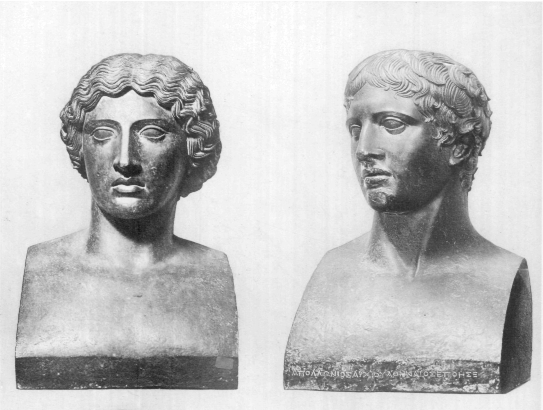
[1] See Part II., Chapters I. and IV.

[2] For the more definite account see below, Part II., Chapters II., III., and IV.

Above all, these committees were to be truly representative of the people of each country: including not merely archaeologists, not merely learned bodies or individuals or men of great wealth who could contribute most lavishly to the funds, but representatives of all classes. Of course such committees ought to have a nucleus of experts interested in the subject, but even these ought to represent every shade of subject and of opinion. Still, to avoid all antagonisms and jealousies (from which these bodies and individuals do not seem to be quite immune), they were to include prominent men of every class in the community: statesmen, a sailor and a soldier, financiers, men of business and representatives of labour, the various professions and educational bodies—in short, all that goes to make up the representative life of the

Pl.V


ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΑΡΧΙΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣΕΠΟΗΣΕ

Héliog.Dujardin

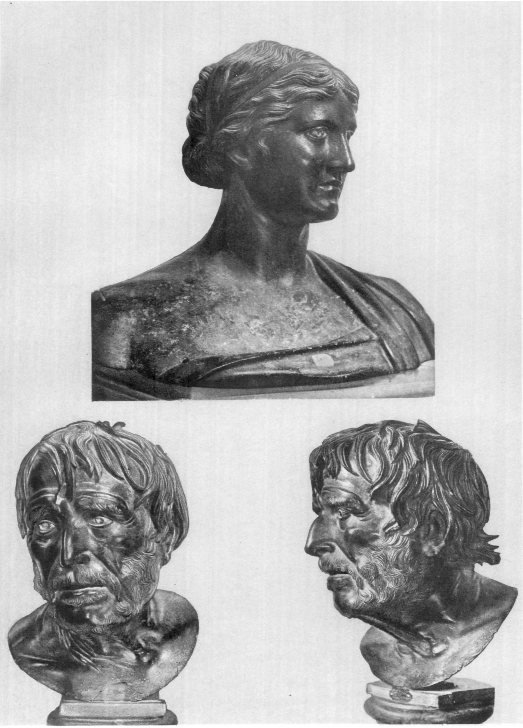
FOUR BRONZE BUSTS

Amazon, Doryphoros, Archaic Head, Dionysos.

nation, so that the nation as a whole should be led to take an active interest in the work. This active interest would, in the first instance, be shown by the act of making a material contribution to the fund. No doubt the men of great wealth might be expected to contribute more lavishly ; but, through the labour organisations in the centres of industry and trade, the penny of the working man would manifest his interest in the ideal international enterprise as much as the hundreds or thousands contributed by the millionaire. Even in the schools the pupils might be led to organise collections—though it might be feared that the promise of discovering new manuscripts of the ancient authors might not prove attractive to those who find that there exist already too many ancient authors standing between them and the serious occupations of the playing-field. Over all these representatives on the national committee, giving it at once the stamp of a truly national—though distinctly not a political—body, would sit, as the honorary president or patron, the head of the nation, be he Emperor, King, or President. Besides manifestly and effectively stamping the committee and the cause it pursues in the eyes of the outer world and of the people themselves as a truly national body and a national cause, the presidency of the head of the State would most efficiently counteract those pettinesses and personal or professional jealousies which so often endanger the success of great movements. Such committees were to be formed in every State laying claim to be representative of our civilisation. In this manner there would equally be a national Italian committee working apart from the action of the Government. Nay, perhaps Japan, which is showing such interest in our culture and such aptitude for assimilating it, might be led to take part in the general movement, the more so as, in my opinion, the element most urgently needed to bring the admirable mentality of that vigorous nation within closer relationship to the best of Western civilisation, while preserving the best inherent in their own national character, is the assimilation of Hellenic culture and Hellenic ideals.

Now, these national committees were to be in direct and in constant communication with the International Committee, and were to appoint one or two representatives, as the case might be, on that international body. The International Committee was to have as its honorary head the King of Italy, and was to consist of four *ex-officio* Italian members, including the Minister of Public Instruction, the Sindaco of Naples, and two members appointed by the Crown. With them were to sit the representatives—one or two—of each nation contributing to the fund and to the work. The members were to hold their meetings at Rome. Their committee was to be in communication with the various national committees, and to be the trustee of the funds handed over to its care by the national committees, to administer these funds, to determine the limits of authority of the international staff, and to be the final court of appeal in all matters raised by the actual work or referred to it by the staff. In fact, all final authority would be vested in this body ; though freedom of action and self-government would be granted to the working staff within the limits of the constitution, from time to time changed, as necessity arose. The action of the International Committee would be in this respect analogous to that of the State granting constitutions or charters to corporations, only that its authority, as administrator of the funds and mediator between the international staff and the national committees, would be greater and more active. In all likelihood the representatives of the several national committees on this international body would be the diplomats of the several countries residing in Rome. The presence of such men would be distinctly advantageous for such purely administrative work, especially as that body would be the final court of appeal when differences between experts arose and when professional sensitiveness had to be considered and jealousies counteracted. For such a body, neutral in character,

Pl. VI



Héliog Dujardin

Female Head, unknown. Portrait unknown (? Seneca, ? Piso). Bronzes.

should be possessed of the qualities which men of the world, with experience in the conciliation of differing interests and passions, may be expected to possess.[1]

The most important body would be the international staff of actual workers at the excavation. Of course a large number of Italian experts would be employed. The foreign members of the staff would be appointed, either by the International Committee in communication with the national committees, or by the Italian Government.[2] As a rule, the national committees would be consulted and invited to send men: in some cases the actual kind of expert required, or even some well-known foreign expert might be definitely suggested to them. Sometimes the national committees might usefully take the initiative, and on their part suggest definite members to the International Committee or to the Italian Government through them. So, for instance, if definite help was required from an archaeologist prominent in one distinct speciality, or from some civil or mining engineer or chemist or geologist, the foreign nation which had authorities available in these departments might be asked to send them or might offer to supply them. Besides these, a number of advanced students, who had completed their education at home, might be admitted as associates or assistants on the regular staff, and could do very useful work where supervisors would be required in such large numbers, and where so much help would be needed in cleaning, sorting the finds, and in keeping the records of all discoveries. Moreover, the opportunities for study on the spot during excavation would prove invaluable to the archaeologist who had received his more theoretical study in a university far removed from the sites and monuments of the ancient world. I even venture to say that our knowledge of ancient works of art and crafts will always be imperfect until we have seen them issuing from the ground in a systematic excavation.

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[1] For the actual and detailed functions of this International Committee see below, Part II., esp. Chapter II.

[2] Both these alternative proposals were laid before the Italian Government. See Appendix I.

With a sceptical smile, implying an unpractical, if not fantastic optimism on my part, people have often asked: "How do you expect that this heterogeneous body of scholars, who in each nation so often quarrel among themselves and are far from being able dispassionately and justly to appreciate each other's work, will be brought into line, and will peacefully, without friction or final disruption, be held together to complete so stupendous an undertaking, when national antagonisms are there to strengthen and intensify personal antipathies?"

In the further development of this book[1] I shall show the practical working of the scheme; and I believe that I shall be able to convince the reader that, compared with what exists at the present moment, friction and antagonism will be diminished within the body of experts of each nation; that the whole result of the enterprise, as it concerns those actively engaged in the work, as well as in its effect upon the nations themselves, will be to diminish and to frustrate national Chauvinism. Should quarrels arise within the staff, such as cannot be amicably settled by their own council, the International Committee will act as a court of appeal, and their decision (in the impartiality of which we can *a priori* have faith) will be final. But the organisation and working of the international staff itself will have a preventive effect upon all tendencies towards dissension. In the first place, the nationalities will not be grouped together, as solid bodies asserting their corporate interests or differences; but the individuals from each nation will be dovetailed into one another, within the groups forming separate units of workers. The active and continuous co-operation of such complex units will even pacify and counteract the litigious instincts now existing among the body of students within each nation. This is so pronounced, that to such internal antagonisms is to be ascribed to some degree the difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of the realisation of the plan. These gangs of workers of all nationalities will be impersonally grouped together by the principle of separate localities: by the different sites that are being excavated: by a distinct piece of excavating work which has to be done: and by the definite task of recording, cleaning, and sorting the finds when made. Then, in the question of the preliminary publication of results (where credit is given and made public for success in discovery or elaboration), the individual is to be entirely submerged within the gang or group, and the outer recognition will be bestowed upon the corporate body to which the individual must subordinate all his desires and ambitions for recognition. These are the preventive and more negative forces. But the spirit of unity will be positively fostered and impressed by all those means which tend to develop an *esprit de corps*, and give the feeling of comradeship. There will be the meals in common during the work, with discussion of results and consultations, besides the evening gatherings when, in a more organised form, there will be conferences, leading to decisions as to the course of work; occasional reports will be made by the departments, and lectures given in the evenings. Thus each group and gang will not be isolated in its interests and activity, but will maintain an active eagerness concerning the work of the other departments, and all will tend to confirm the *organic* nature of the staff and its work, and will favour the most efficient fulfilment of the enterprise as a whole. These active forces combined will give a corporate feeling to the staff in its relation to the outer world.

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[1] See Part II., Chapters II. and the following.

The relationship to the world outside will be kept up by the weekly reports of finds in a publication printed and issued in several languages from a printing-press and studios for illustration (the department of publication) on the spot. Visitors flocking to the site from all parts of the world will keep alive throughout the civilised globe the interest in this international enterprise; while the manifestations of such interest from the outside will react upon the staff and consolidate the corporate feeling of unity. Thus every element will tend to make it a united body, to whom the motto *e pluribus unum* will truly apply, representing as it will all civilised nations, and impressing upon the world the ideal character of the enterprise, the mission of universal brotherhood, in a practical and tangible instance, in the pursuit of a definite and real object of common interest to them all.

Such was, in outline, the plan gradually formed in my mind. But I was always conscious of the one great initial difficulty: How could the whole world be moved to take action, tangible action, implying material sacrifice, and work in common towards such an ideal goal? How could the sums be raised? How could the people dwelling in countries far removed from the centre where the work was to take place, of differing nationalities, be brought to feel enough interest or enthusiasm to contribute large sums towards an excavation, when the discoveries made, the objects found, should all remain in Italy, and no material return or compensation be given for their financial contributions? No doubt they ought to realise the value of scientific discovery equally affecting them all; no doubt they can all feel how worthy of sacrifice it would be for every country to contribute to a costly expedition for a distant astronomical observation—though they get no stars to carry home in return. I felt convinced that, when once enthusiasm could be aroused among the wider circles in each country and community, it would not be difficult to raise the required sums, however considerable they might be.

I came to the conclusion that this first step could never be taken if it were left to public bodies to move. Even if such scientific bodies — not always free from individual prejudice and the intrusion of personal equations—could be brought to act together, they were clumsy in their modes and measures of action, and, by their very constitution, they were often divorced from, if not opposed to, the wider public, the whole people, whom it was the object to move. Such an international movement, I felt convinced, could only be set on foot by one individual, deeply inspired with the conviction of the absolute rightness, the absolute necessity, of excavating Herculaneum by means of the co-operation of the whole world : possessed of adequate knowledge of the subject itself, an average of tact, an ordinary power of persuasion, but an uncommon readiness of self-effacement when once the work was fairly organised ; ready at all times to recede to the background and leave the work in the hands of those fitted to do it ; and, above all, an extraordinary enthusiasm for the cause itself. Such a man, devoting his whole time and energies to the task, it seemed to me, must ultimately succeed, because the object was true and good in all its aspects.

For years past I had often expressed these views to my friends, only regretting that my numerous duties and occupations prevented me from taking up the mission to preach this peaceful crusade in the sphere of science and art and universal culture. I would not give up the hope that some day, circumstances being favourable, I might be able to devote myself to the consummation of this end devoutly to be wished.

It was in the autumn of 1903 that my friend, Mr. Leonard Shoobridge (formerly of Balliol College, Oxford), who himself had always been convinced of the necessity of excavating Herculaneum, urged upon me that I should actively undertake to carry out my plan. Knowing the conditions of my life and duties, he assured me that he would assist me in every way, take the burden of much of the work off my shoulders, and see that under my direction my ideas were carried out. His own advocacy of my plan, and the assurance that, with proper help, I could carry it into execution, were so convincing, that I decided to devote all my spare time to this cause. So it was agreed that we should begin operations during the Easter holidays of 1904.

But we also agreed that, to carry our design through the initial stages, in which, before all things, the authorisation, nay, the active support, of the Italian authorities were to be obtained, we should have to keep our plan from the public until this authority was secured, and that we should only initiate those whose active help was indispensable. The personal interest which H.M. King Edward had previously shown in my work encouraged me to acquaint him from the outset with the plan I had formed, and to invoke his sympathetic support.

On December 27, 1903, I wrote to His Majesty, giving him an outline of my plan, and praying for an audience in case he desired to hear further details. On December 28 I received a letter[1] from Lord Knollys expressing the interest which the King took in the scheme, yet pointing out that it was important that certain preliminary conditions should be fulfilled before the scheme could be further discussed—namely, (1) an estimate of the cost of the excavation, and (2) the consent of the Italian Government. The opinion of the King corresponded entirely with what my colleague and I felt, as to the urgency of settling the preliminary stages before the scheme could, wholly or in part, be made public, and any further active step in the propaganda could be taken which was to enlist the interest of the world. I may say at once here that at no stage were we ignorant of the great difficulty of securing the consent of the Italian authorities—being perfectly acquainted with the internal history of Italian archaeological affairs, the antagonisms existing between the sections and individuals representing that study, and the sensitiveness of the whole Italian people with regard to anything that might even remotely suggest foreign intervention in their own affairs. Moreover, we anticipated the difficulties and dangers arising out of misunderstanding or misrepresentation, especially in the early phases, and therefore decided upon keeping our work as much to ourselves as was possible.

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[1] Appendix I.

Having been provided with proper official recommendation from the Foreign Office for our Ambassador in Rome (Sir Francis Bertie), Mr. Shoobridge and I met in Florence in March 1904 and at once proceeded to Rome. Among those who were most helpful to the cause there I must single out my friend the late Marchese Vitelleschi, a senator, a man of highest culture and refinement and of lofty integrity of character, respected by all, even those who differed from him politically, whose word, moreover, carried weight with all sections of the community. To him we confided our scheme, and received from him criticism, advice, and support which were of the greatest use to us in this stage of our proceedings.

We arrived in Rome on April 4, and decided to lay the matter before the King of Italy in the first instance. Before doing this, however, we felt that our studies on ancient Herculaneum and the question of its excavation ought to be supplemented by further examination on the spot. We therefore started for Naples on April 12, and remained there till April 17. Here we received most active help in carrying on our inquiries from the British Consul-General, Mr. Neville Rolfe, for many years an ardent student of Campanian antiquities; from Professor Païs, at that time Director of the Museum and of the Pompeian excavations; and from Professor Mercalli as regarded the geology of Vesuvius and of Herculaneum. We made a careful study of the site and the remains, and came to the preliminary conclusion—of necessity a rough estimate—that Herculaneum could not be thoroughly excavated in the manner we thought desirable under an expenditure of £40,000 a year.

Through the intervention of the British Ambassador and the support of Count Gianotti, the Master of the King's Household, I had an audience with the King on April 18. I laid our plan of an international excavation before His Majesty, who showed the keenest and most intelligent and sympathetic interest in the question, which he had evidently studied with thoroughness. His Majesty pointed out the difficulties in the way of its realisation, but manifested the greatest sympathy with such an effort. He knew that I was to bring the matter before the Prime Minister (Signor Giolitti) and the Minister of Public Instruction (Signor Orlando), promised to mention the matter to the Prime Minister, and advised me to lay definite questions—such as whether it would require a special Bill—before the Minister of Public Instruction. To my request whether he would authorise me to publish the fact that he was in favour of the scheme at this stage, he answered in the negative; for, as a constitutional monarch, he would only give his consent in case the responsible Ministers agreed. He promised himself to talk to the Prime Minister about it.

On April 19 I had a conference with the Prime Minister at the Palazzo Braschi. To him also I gave an account of our plan, with the outlines of which he seemed already acquainted. He said it would be difficult to introduce a Bill that session. I asked him whether he would authorise me to say that he was in favour of the scheme. He replied in the affirmative; but that it all depended upon the consent of his colleague, Signor Orlando. He gave me an open letter to the Minister of Public Instruction, warmly recommending myself and the scheme to his attention.

On April 21 I had a conference with Signor Orlando at the Ministry of Public Instruction (Minerva). He at once hailed the scheme with unqualified approval. He maintained that it needed no Bill, and that the work could begin soon. I told him that the great difficulty would be to interest the world sufficiently to raise the funds required; but that I would start on my mission to the various centres as soon as my regular duties allowed of this, and would organise the different national committees. I told him that, though his word was a sufficient guarantee to enable me to begin my propaganda over the world, yet, in view of the fact that governments change, and that without some written authorisation from the Italian Government doubts might arise whilst I addressed myself to foreign bodies, and my work thus be impeded, I ought to have, if possible, some assurance in writing that the international scheme had his official support. This he promised to send me at once. It arrived next day, and it is included in the Appendix.[1] He agreed to the publication in the press of this first authorisation, but thought it would be better to publish it abroad in the first instance, as difficulties, misrepresentations, and unnecessary opposition might arise if it were first made known in one or the other Italian newspapers. Accordingly, the first short notice of the authorisation was given through the Roman correspondent of the *Times* in the issue of April 23.[2]

Meanwhile my colleague, Mr. Shoobridge, began his work on the complete elaboration of the literature as well as the monuments in Italy (collecting illustrations of the latter) pertaining to Herculaneum. Unfortunately for myself and the whole enterprise, he was taken seriously ill shortly after I left, and had himself to leave Italy unable to return for a long time, so that I was deprived of his active help on the spot. Especially when later complications arose, his presence in Italy would have been invaluable had he been able to clear matters there. It has only been within the last year that I have again enjoyed his valuable co-operation.

I now felt free to begin the *iniziativa mondiale*, of the *grandezza e difficoltà* of which I was well aware. The first step to take was manifestly to organise the several committees in each country, so that the matter should no longer be in the hands of individuals, but should be raised to an impersonal level, and that interest should be aroused all over the world and funds collected. I had reported the successful result of my Italian visit to the King (of England), and had received his congratulations in reply.[1] But there was considerable difficulty in first starting the English committee, it being felt that a certain assurance of adequate financial support would be necessary before that body could be formed. I thus had to face a "vicious circle" from which it was not easy to escape. Promises of considerable support had already been made to me by private friends (*e.g.* my first offer was from Mr. Henry Phipps, who promised £500); but not only was I loth to have any direct concern personally in the control or even the collection of the funds, but also I felt that, as soon as possible, the whole undertaking ought to be dissociated from ourselves and put in the hands of wider official bodies. Thus the funds could not well be raised until the committees were formed, and the committees—at least as concerned England—could not well be started until there was some guarantee of financial support. It seemed clear that the United States—where more than in any other country a tradition exists among the possessors of great wealth to give active support to educational and scientific enterprises—was the centre whence such guarantee of financial support would be most readily forthcoming. A letter received from my friend, the late Mr. John Hay,[2] moreover, assured me that President Roosevelt would prospectively consent to take the moral leadership in that country; while my friends informed me of good prospects of help among the prominent individuals who were able to assist. But my academic duties and other pressing work kept me tied to England, and there was no chance of undertaking a journey to the United States till the Christmas holidays. I therefore turned to Germany and France.

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[1] Appendix I.

[2] Appendix I.

It was not till the end of June, when my academic work

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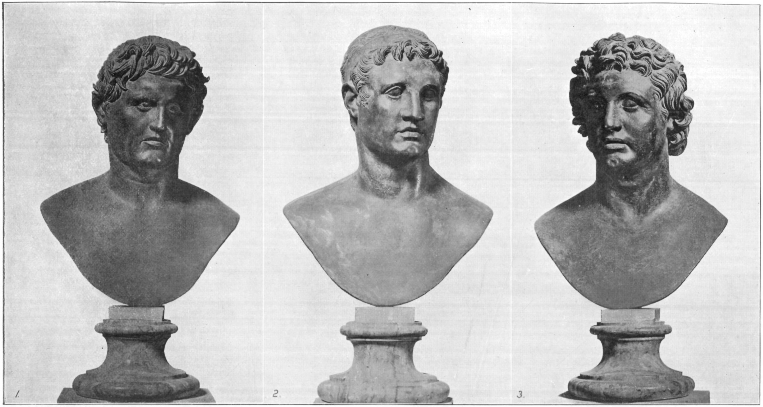
[1] Appendix I.

[2] Appendix I.



THREE LIFE-SIZE BRONZE BUSTS.

PLATE 8.

? A Ptolemy, ? Ptolemy Philadelphus, ? Seleucus Nicator.

was over, that I was able to go to France. M. Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, and my friend and former colleague, M. Homolle, had smoothed the way, the former having written to the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Chaumié, while the latter had prepared my archaeological colleagues in Paris to give a favourable reception to the scheme. I arrived in Paris on June 30. At a meeting of the Institute on the following day I had the pleasure of meeting, and of receiving the grateful and enthusiastic support of, the veteran scholar, Gaston Boissier; while at a luncheon given by M. Homolle, at which Messieurs Perrot, Heuzey, the Duc de Loubat, and Messieurs Collignon, Bayet, and Pottier were present, I was invited to lay my whole scheme before my colleagues, who each and all gave their unqualified support. In the evening, at a dinner at M. Georges Perrot's, the same approval was confirmed by other colleagues. At the same time, through the friendly and efficient intervention of my friend, Sir Edmund Monson, H.M. Ambassador to France, with unusually short notice, President Loubet received me at the Elysée, and consented to become the honorary president of the French committee, which all my friends promised to organise speedily as soon as the moment arrived and the word was given. Through the intervention of M. Bayet (Directeur de l'Instruction Supérieure at the Ministry) a meeting was arranged with the Minister, M. Chaumié, who, after taking full cognisance of the scheme, promised his official support, which he subsequently confirmed in writing in a letter of July 22.[1] My supporters in France agreed that the committee should be formed on the broad and representative lines which I have given above; while the official adhesion promised that any experts whom the Italian authorities or the International Committee should ask to join the international staff would be sent. The advantage to the advanced students who might be utilised was also recognised.

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[1] Appendix I.

On my return to England I wrote to Signor Orlando (incidentally congratulating him on the speech which he had made at the inauguration of the statue of Giordano Bruno), informing him of the success of this first step and of my future movements. My plan was to leave at once for Germany, then to proceed to Austria, and I asked Signor Orlando whether I could meet him in the north of Italy to discuss further details of the plan. I received no answer to my letter.

Arrangements were now being made for laying my plans before the Chancellor, Prince Bülow, and the Emperor of Germany. My friends, the German Ambassador in London (Count Paul Metternich) and Count Seckendorff, took the active steps necessary. But it was not till August 5 that I could travel to Norderney, where for four days I was able, while receiving most cordial hospitality, to lay the whole matter before the Imperial Chancellor. He entered most sympathetically into the whole plan, which appealed not only to his cultured nature, but also to wider and more ultimate political ideals, and promised his full support, suggesting provisionally the names of prominent and representative men to form the German committee. He also promised to bring the matter to the cognisance of the Emperor and to secure an audience for me. How well he kept his promise and how fully he grasped the spirit of the scheme is shown by the letter of August 13, 1904, published in the Appendix.[1] There were, however, some inevitable delays before I could be received in audience by the Emperor. This took place at the *Parade-Diner* in the Schloss of Berlin on September 2. His Majesty had already been informed of the essential features of my plan through the Chancellor. He asked further pertinent questions, showing deep insight and interest, and ended by consenting to become honorary president of the German committee and to arrange that one of the

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[1] Appendix I.

Princes should take the active presidency. This support on the part of the leading German authorities was confirmed by a letter from Prince Bülow of September 13.[1]

It was now too late to continue my journey to Austria and Italy, as I was called back to England. Moreover, through the kindness of the Austrian Ambassador in London, Count Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly, preliminary steps had been taken for the formation of a powerful and representative committee in Austria and Hungary.[2] It was my intention to prepare the ground for other committees through the diplomatic representatives in London, several of whom already took an active interest in the scheme. But the most important field of operation remained the United States, especially as successful results in that country would facilitate the effective formation of a committee in England. The establishment of each strong committee in one country would favour the work in the other. This was also felt by the King, who recognised the good influence which the support of the German Emperor would have on my proposed propaganda in the United States.[3] But my academic duties kept me at work in England till the beginning of December.

Before going to the United States, where the widest publicity would have to be given to the scheme, I felt that the time had come for a fuller publication of the plan than had hitherto been admitted. I decided to initiate this phase by means of a lecture, for the delivery of which the President and Council of the Royal Academy of Arts offered me hospitality in Burlington House. Under their auspices it was arranged that I should deliver a lecture on December 13, and thus publish my plan, give an account of what had already been achieved, and point out what remained to be done. In the name of the Royal Academy a distinguished audience was invited, including the representatives of the foreign countries, among whom were the Italian Ambassador and the Secretaries of the Embassy. A wider publicity was to be given by the press.

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[1] See Appendix I.

[2] Appendix I.

[3] See Appendix I.

Here begins a chapter of accidents, apparently unavoidable in all important movements, insignificant in themselves, yet often fraught with grave consequences. The Italian Ambassador, Signor Panza, who throughout proved himself a most generous supporter of the scheme, when consulted as to how the presence of the representatives of the Italian press could be secured, had kindly offered to distribute the invitations among them. They were sent by him to the correspondent of one of the chief papers for distribution among his colleagues. Unfortunately, that gentleman having changed his address, the invitations did not reach the correspondents till after the lecture had been delivered, and they were thus dependent for their information upon the shortened reports in the London papers. The real misfortune ensuing from this accident was, that whereas I had taken especial pains in the beginning of my lecture to emphasise all that I could with truth and sincerity say in praise of my Italian colleagues and the national work in Italy, all that was rightly calculated to conciliate the just *amour propre* of Italy, these important passages, giving a tone to my whole discourse, were omitted in the English and hence also in the Italian reports.

The lecture was delivered on December 13, and was well reported in the London papers the next day.[1] On the 14th I sailed from Liverpool for the United States. Here my friends, the Hon. John Hay in Washington, Mr. Whittridge and Mrs. Cooper Hewitt in New York, and Mr. S. D. Warren in Boston, had made the necessary preparations. Christmas intervening, I could not give the lecture, which was delivered under the auspices of the American Institute of Archaeology, until December 27, at the house of Mrs. Wadsworth in Washington. The question of an American committee was discussed by competent advisers after the lecture. As it is against custom for the President to attend any function in a private house in Washington, I repeated my lecture at the White House the next evening (December 28). President Roosevelt cordially consented to become honorary president of the American committee. The next important meeting was to take place in New York, where arrangements had been made that my lecture should be given to an audience representing those chiefly interested in the subject, as well as those most favourably situated to give material support to the scheme, at the house of Mr. Pierpont Morgan on January 3. This lecture, and the conference with those in a position to forward the movement most effectively at this stage, formed the crucial point in the work during the first phase: it was the *moment psychologique* of the movement.

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[1] Appendix I., *Times'* Report.

Then, two days before the lecture was to be delivered in the house of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, an evening paper in New York published a telegram from Rome denying that I had any authority to act in the matter, and maintaining that the Italian Government was opposed to the scheme. Up to that moment I had felt so absolutely confident and at rest concerning the Italian authorisation, that I was convinced the Roman telegram was based on a misunderstanding of the Roman correspondent. My communications with the newspaper in question, and with others publishing similar accounts the next morning, however, proved that here was not merely a slip on the part of one correspondent. I at once cabled to Signor Orlando, demanding that, before January 3 (the day of my lecture), he should publish the true facts of the matter, so that I might not stand before the world as an impostor. To this I received the following cablegram on January 2: "Provederò con istruzioni nostro rappresentante perchè sia chiarità situazione fatti [fatta].—ORLANDO." I was thus referred to the Italian Ambassador at Washington for an explanation, with the materials for which Signor Orlando had supplied the Ambassador. In answer to my telegram to the latter I received the following explanation on January 3, the morning of the day on which I was to lecture: "Italian Government notifies that no concrete plan was presented to it about Herculaneum excavation, that consequently it did not pledge itself, and that it preserves its complete liberty of action. Please take note of this declaration.—ITALIAN AMBASSADOR." The spirit and contents of this despatch were essentially altered by subsequent telegrams and letters.[1] As a matter of fact, the cipher despatch received by the Ambassador from Rome was not quite intelligible to him. In his letter of January 6, his own opinion was, that a misunderstanding had arisen in Italy owing to the erroneous newspaper telegrams published by the European press, announcing that President Roosevelt had been designated by me as president of the International Committee; whereas, in my plan as communicated to the Italian Government, this leading position was to be reserved for the King of Italy. His letter ended with the expression of his personal belief that "the whole incident only resulted from a misunderstanding provoked by erroneous notices in the newspapers, and that I would succeed in clearing the whole matter on my return to England."

Meanwhile, however, I had to face my audience in New York—an audience from which I had reason to hope that in its hands at this critical juncture lay the success of the whole enterprise—with the disheartening information contained in the first despatch of the Italian Ambassador at Washington before me. I was thus forced, while mentioning the newspaper reports and the despatch, to begin my address by explaining the situation and by communicating to the audience my credentials to act in the matter. In spite of the weakening effect which such a declaration at the outset must needs have had when facing the arduous task of arousing enthusiasm for an ideal cause, so that those able to do so should make material sacrifice for a purely spiritual gain to be derived from work in a distant hemisphere,—in spite of this unfortunate accident, I was assured, and had undoubted evidence, that most of those who were present were intensely moved in sympathy with the great international enterprise. Then and at no other time did I personally ask for contributions. I had from the outset decided that I could have nothing to do with the financial side of the project. The committees with their appropriate officials were to be responsible for this department, and on these committees, as well as on the International Committee, the strictest regard to business-like principles and procedure in the trusteeship of the funds was to be safeguarded. But I was satisfied that, when once the American committee and its officials were organised, the financial support of the scheme, so far as the United States was concerned, was assured.

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[1] Appendix I.

The next day I travelled to Boston, and lectured there to a similarly selected audience at the house of Mr. Montgomery Sears on January 5. Here too the same enthusiasm was aroused, and preliminary arrangements were made for the formation of a committee. I returned to New York the next day, where, for the next five days, my time was amply filled with personal visits to those who could materially further the scheme and in consultations with those friends who undertook to organise the committees, as well as in correspondence and in the writing of an article on the question, which subsequently (April 1905) appeared in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. The plan adopted was, that there should be one American committee, with the President as honorary president, and local committees in the important centres of the East and West, the North and the South. But the actual inception of their organisation and activity should be deferred until, on my return to Europe, I could clear up the misunderstanding arising out of the erroneous newspaper reports. In the United States the press had warmly taken up the propaganda, and had done its share to arouse interest in the enterprise throughout the length and breadth of the country.

As I was due in residence at Cambridge on January 20, I sailed from New York on January 11. On my arrival at Queenstown I received a large packet of correspondence and newspapers from England and Italy, showing, to my great distress, that misunderstandings and misstatements of an invidious nature, distinctly antagonistic to the scheme, had been circulating freely throughout the press during my absence. Some of the Italian papers even referred to the American Society of Waldstein and Co. as if it were a commercial enterprise to carry off, and profit by, the discoveries made at Herculaneum. Even in the London *Times* the invidious personal attitude made itself manifest in letters of January 7 and 10, 1905, in which complaint was made that the Royal Academy and not some other learned body had taken the matter under its wing, and that some individual archaeological colleagues had not been associated with the movement. To this Sir Edward Poynter had aptly replied.[1]

On arriving in London on January 18, I at once called on the Italian Ambassador, who explained the situation to me, read me a despatch from Signor Orlando (which in no way sounded unpromising), and reassured me in expressing his belief that, if I would draw up in writing an account of what I had been doing, and proposed to do in the future, he would forward it to Rome. He expressed his opinion that all would be readily cleared up, and even suggested that the present misunderstandings, through the wide publicity which they had given to the scheme, had stimulated the sluggish interest of the general public and would ultimately be helpful in furthering the project.

The same day I wrote out the account he desired and forwarded it to him, while I also wrote a letter to the *Times* calculated to remove all misunderstandings and to appease the

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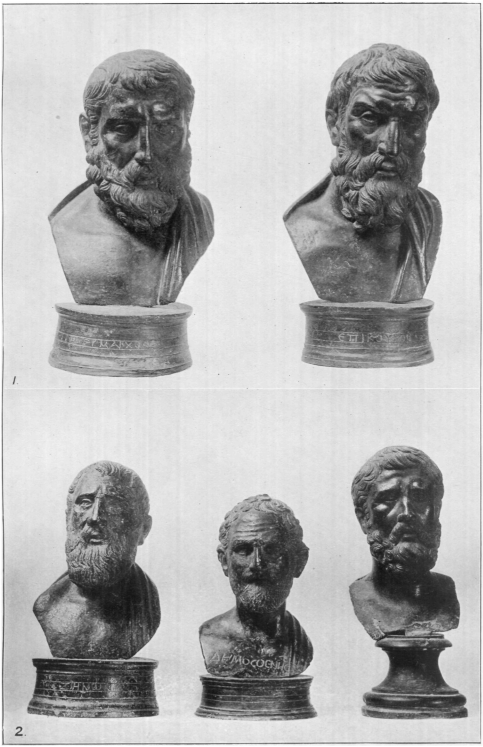
[1] Appendix I.



FIVE SMALLER BRONZE BUSTS OF PHILOSOPHERS. PLATE 9.

Among them Hermarchus, Epicurus, Demosthenes, and Zeno.

turbulent and antagonistic spirits in Italy and elsewhere.[1] I also communicated with the correspondent of the *Tribuna* of Rome in order to make the truth known in Italy. Then ensued during the following months a continuous journalistic warfare, of which some of my letters published in Italy and in England given in the Appendix will convey an idea.[2] Every attempt was made on my part, while practising self-repression and moderation, to secure the victory of truth and to put before the Italian people and the world what had actually happened and what was the real nature of the scheme of future international excavation.

Had Signor Orlando at the very outset simply made a statement of the conditions on which the Italian Government had consented to the plan of an international excavation, in co-operation with, and under the leadership of, Italy, and stuck to this in face of some opposition (which in all parliamentary States must be expected), all the misunderstandings would have been avoided, and the great work at Herculaneum would now be proceeding to the profit of the civilised world and the glory of Italy. This he did not do. On the contrary, his speeches in the Italian Chamber only tended to obscure the situation and to give rise to misunderstandings and misstatements by the press, which lasted for months, and which all efforts have not availed to dispel radically even now; though at one time the whole Italian press and the Italian public appear to have grasped the true nature of the project, to which they gave their hearty and unqualified support.

Though the Giolitti Ministry fell, the whole question had been referred by them to the Central Commission of Fine Arts and Antiquities, the highest authority concerned with these matters in the kingdom. It was not till the winter of 1905 (December 2) that, at their meeting, the Commission, having my proposal before them, decided by seven votes against four in favour of my scheme for the international excavation of

[1] Appendix I.

[2] Appendix I.

Herculaneum.[1] It was some months later that I was officially informed, through the Italian Embassy in London, of this decision. But no further steps were taken.

During all this period I was keeping the foreign friends, who were ready to set to work on the task of forming the various national committees, in suspense. Early in 1906, therefore, I inquired, through the British Embassy in Rome and the Italian Embassy in London, whether, should I travel to Rome, Signor Bianchi, at that time Minister of Public Instruction, would grant me a conference in order definitely to decide whether the project could be pushed forward or ought to be relinquished.[2] I was informed that, though the Minister would be pleased to confer with me, he could not undertake to bring the matter to a final settlement.[3] I accordingly did not go to Rome then. But meanwhile I had already received most encouraging appeals to continue my efforts from leading men in Italy and also from the local authorities of Resina.[4] When, on my way to the Archaeological Congress at Athens in March 1905, my ship called in the harbour of Naples, the Mayor of Resina came on board and begged me to persevere in my exertions, assuring me of the respect and gratitude of his fellow-townsmen.

Owing to ill-health, which necessitated a rest-cure in the summer of 1906, nothing was done for some months. But when I had sufficiently recovered, I again resumed work on the scheme early in September of that year. The Giolitti Ministry had again come into office. It now appeared to me desirable to bring matters to a head, and to press for a final decision of the Government, whether the plan of an international excavation would be accepted by them or not. In the latter case it would be right that I should notify all my friends who had engaged themselves to start national committees, to abandon the work. From Italy I was greatly encouraged to continue my efforts. Some of the leading spirits of that country, among whom I must single out my friend, Professor Milani, the Director of the Etruscan Museum of Florence (who throughout has clearly declared himself in favour of such international co-operation), and the famous composer and poet, Arrigo Boïto, who paid me a visit at Cadenabbia and did all in his power to further the scheme, gave me most effective and loyal encouragement. These are but types of the leading intellectual element in Italy, to whom the ideal aspect of our enterprise appeals strongly, and who ever remain the staunchest supporters of our scheme.

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[1] Professor De Selinas at once wrote to the papers that, though present at the meeting, he was momentarily absent during the voting. He would have voted *for* the proposal. It is thus eight to four and two abstentions. The President, Visconti Venosta, and Signor d' Andrade abstained. For : Boïto, Barnebei, De Petra, Gherardini, Brizzoni, Loewy, Milani (De Selinas). Against : Primo Levi, Ojetti, Ricci, Venturi.

[2] Appendix I.

[3] Appendix I.

[4] Appendix I.

During the month of August, from Switzerland, and subsequently from Cadenabbia, I corresponded by letter and telegram with Signor Tittoni, the Minister of Foreign Affairs—to whom I had strong personal introductions,—with the result that an appointment was made to meet him at Rome on September 15, where I hoped also to find Signor Rava, Minister of Public Instruction, and Signor Corrado Ricci, who held the newly-created post of Director of Fine Arts and Antiquities in the Ministry. When I arrived in Rome, I was disappointed to find that Signor Rava had been compelled by official business to leave for Milan, whence I came: and I may at once say that, on my return to Milan the next day, Signor Rava had been forced to leave for Rome. On the other hand, my conference with the Minister of Foreign Affairs was highly satisfactory. He, of course, pointed out that the decision of the question did not lie within his competence (*ressort*); but that his attitude towards the plan was deeply sympathetic, and he promised speedily to bring the matter before his colleagues, so that I should have an early and definite answer as to their decision.[1]

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[1] See my account of interview in Appendix I.

Meanwhile the leading press was again taking up the discussion of the project. A powerfully written article by Signor Janni in the *Corriere della Sera* of September 17, and in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* by Dr. Münz, led the way; and it is no exaggeration to say that the whole Italian press had veered round to an unqualified approval of the scheme of an international excavation of Herculaneum. I did my best, by private[1] and public letters, to put the matter in its true light and to dissipate all misconceptions and misstatements. The *Giornale d' Italia* of Rome, which in earlier days had been distinctly critical, if not inimical to the scheme, published an article from the pen of Professor Conti (before, a pronounced opponent of the scheme), in which that archaeologist generously recanted his former strictures of my action and gave unqualified support and praise to the project and to myself personally. The *Tribuna* of Rome,[2] pronouncedly antagonistic before, of all Italian newspapers the one most directly in touch with the Government, published successively three long articles by Professor Dall' Osso, of the National Museum of Naples and the Pompeian excavations, which are of lasting value as contributions to our knowledge of ancient Herculaneum. Each of these articles was headed by the following paragraph :—

Extract from the "Tribuna," January 14, 1907

Noble and great ideas, when once they have been sent forth, make way for themselves of their own accord, for they have in them the force which tends to their success. Thus it happened in the case of the Waldstein project for the excavation of Herculaneum. It had not been long published when it received a cold reception from public opinion, preoccupied as this was with the notion of a seizure of our antiquities by foreigners, so that it was vehemently opposed in newspapers in the name of a principle dear to our people, "L' Italia deve fare da sè"—"Italy must do things herself."

This sacred watchword found an echo of sympathy in many hearts during the first period of our political redemption, when the aim was to free Italy from the attitude of subjection to the foreigner and to direct her to a free line of development in the spheres of organisation most important to her, namely, in education and in industry. But it has no reason for existence now in regard to a work which looks to a lofty result embracing the principle of the solidarity of mankind in scientific achievement, all the more when the question is of a colossal undertaking which even the richest nation in the world would not be able by the employment of the ordinary means at its disposal to accomplish alone.

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[1] Appendix I.

[2] *Tribuna*, January 14, 20, and 29, 1907.

It is therefore no matter for astonishment that in little more than two years so rapid a change regarding the Waldstein project should have come about, not only in the feeling of the public, but also in that of men of learning, who are much more tenacious of their views since these are in their case the result of mature reflection. It is a point worthy of note that the Central Commission, which at its meeting held a year ago admitted the Waldstein project with two contrary votes and four abstentions, in its sitting of last November voted the project unanimously.[1]

But a really striking fact is that the very man who was the first to raise the cry of alarm and to proclaim the crusade against the barbarous invader of our artistic patrimony, declared a few days ago in these same columns, that we ought to open our arms to our brother in welcome to his magnificent proposal, "which is a fervid act of homage to our history and our glory." So now that we are united among ourselves, and that the heart of Italy beats at one with that of other nations in the desire to hasten the accomplishment of this arduous undertaking, we are waiting with confidence for the announcement by the Minister which may permit the determined Anglo-Saxon to put his magnificent programme into actuality. It is a beautiful thing, in this age when the struggle of interests between nations has become so harsh, to witness the spontaneous and universal adhesion to an undertaking by which the material interest of Italy alone will be benefited through the conspicuous increase of our artistic inheritance. We may easily find explanation of this miracle if we set beside it the progressive increase in the receipts derived from the charge for entrance at Pompeii, which proves the rapid expansion of the cult of antique beauty and the spread of that noble desire to call forth the lost glories of the past which formerly was limited to few. The present generation, conscious of the brilliant spring-time of art that lies hidden under the strong covering which enwraps Herculaneum, cannot remain for long indifferent to the thought that, with the consent of Italy to the co-operation of other States, these treasures of art may in a short time be restored to the light of day.

J. Dall' Osso,
of the National Museum, Naples.

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[1] The Central Commission became unanimously favourable to the proposition because the opponents received from the supporters all the guarantees which they had demanded as to the character and the manner of the international elements in the project. The opponents started from the principle that we ought, even in such cases as this, to be and to show ourselves in the first place citizens rather than archaeologists or artists; that the political side of the question had therefore to be also considered, and this the more because there was suggestion in the first instance of some intervention, though only honorary, on the part of heads of States. This danger having been set aside by the declarations of members of the Commission who reflected in the discussion the views of Professor Waldstein, there was no longer need for any one to take a hostile position regarding the project. The agreement was, in fact, such that the member who had previously been the most resolute opponent contributed to formulate the order of the day, which was voted unanimously.—The Editor.

That Signor Tittoni's promise was faithfully kept was manifest from the decision of the Central Commission, to whom the Government again referred the question. It was on November 10, 1906, that the newspapers made the announcement—which by many was received with intense joy—that the Commission had unanimously accepted the scheme of the international excavation of Herculaneum, strongly recommended it to the Government, and urged that the work be taken up without delay. The exact terms of the resolution are the following: 1. That the subscriptions shall be of a private character, without any official intervention in foreign countries. 2. That the funds shall be administered by an International Committee sitting in Rome, of which the King of Italy shall be honorary president, and the actual president some one nominated by His Majesty. 3. That the executive committee of excavation of Herculaneum (the "staff") shall be composed of a number of foreign members and of the same number of Italian members, and all its members, both foreign and Italian, be nominated by the King of Italy on the recommendation of his Minister of Public Instruction. 4. That the first publication of all scientific and artistic material obtained shall belong to the Italian Government and be made at its expense, though the Minister of Public Instruction shall be empowered to invite other Italian and foreign *savants*, who do not belong to the executive committee, to take part in that publication. 5. That the foreign members of the executive committee may, on the responsibility of its president and with proper safeguards, permit students of their own nationality to be present at the excavations. 6. That all the results of the excavation shall be the property of the Italian Government. This shall not prevent the Italian Government from giving to the States which have most largely contributed some specimens of objects found, in the case of those objects being in duplicate and such a concession not injuring national collections.

It will be seen that these conditions are in complete harmony with the scheme which I had proposed. In one point they distinctly go beyond anything proposed by me—namely, in recommending that, at the discretion of the King of Italy, duplicates of objects discovered be presented to the nations contributing. In my scheme it was always clearly maintained that none of the objects were to leave Italy. This generous concession on the part of the Italian Commission appeared to me of great advantage: as it would facilitate the raising of funds abroad, would furnish foreign museums with important material for study, and would in no way diminish the archaeological treasure of Italy or impair the character of the results of the excavation by removing any of the illustrative objects from their natural setting in the country where they were found.

From Italy and from all parts of the world I received letters and telegrams of congratulation, and not only the whole press, but some of the Italian authorities themselves, expressed their conviction that the matter was settled and the international excavation was no longer a scheme but an accomplished fact. At a dinner to celebrate the auspicious event, given to the Italian Ambassador in London on December 5, 1906, at which the representatives of the chief Powers were present, I was assured that the delay in my receiving official communication of this decision was caused merely by the usual official delay or "red tape," and that I would be speedily informed of this final agreement.

Yet for some time, in spite of repeated requests through the official channels, I did not receive this communication. Then, on February 19, in the *Tribuna* of Rome, only a few days after the fourth of those important and favourable letters of Professor Dall' Osso was published, there appeared an extract from a letter addressed to me by Commendatore Boni, appended to an article decidedly Chauvinistic in spirit and in content, condemning my scheme as an encroachment upon the honour of Italy. I have now every reason to know that Commendatore Boni's action was based upon an entire misunderstanding of the true nature of our scheme, and that he has since then taken cognisance of the true facts of our action and our purpose. But the mere publication of this letter at once set alight all the flames of Chauvinism, which in Italy, as, unfortunately, elsewhere at this moment, can merely be covered over for the time being, and are constantly smouldering in the press, if not in the hearts of the people. In a few days the decision was apparently reversed. We were informed by the newspapers, and, after considerable delay, I received official confirmation of the decision of the Italian Government, that no material help or direct international co-operation would be accepted, and that the Italian Government had decided at once to proceed to the excavation of Herculaneum by itself.

I was at the same time informed that the friendly advice of distinguished foreign authorities (including myself) would be accepted ; but that the work would be entirely in the hands of the Italian experts.[1]

Out of the truly munificent grants voted for purposes of Archaeology and the Fine Arts, we were informed that for the present the sum of 15,000 francs (£600, $3000) had been assigned to the work of excavating Herculaneum.

But the promise to begin the great work was definite and emphatic, and we must all rejoice in this important decision. For it has been and is, after all, our chief object to lead to the inception of such a great work, no matter by whom the work is carried out. It was also gratifying to receive the acknowledgment of the service which our efforts had secured for Italy expressed in the words of the *Giornale d' Italia* when announcing this decision.

At the same time, from what has been shown above and from what will become convincingly manifest in the further development of our arguments in this book, it must be evident

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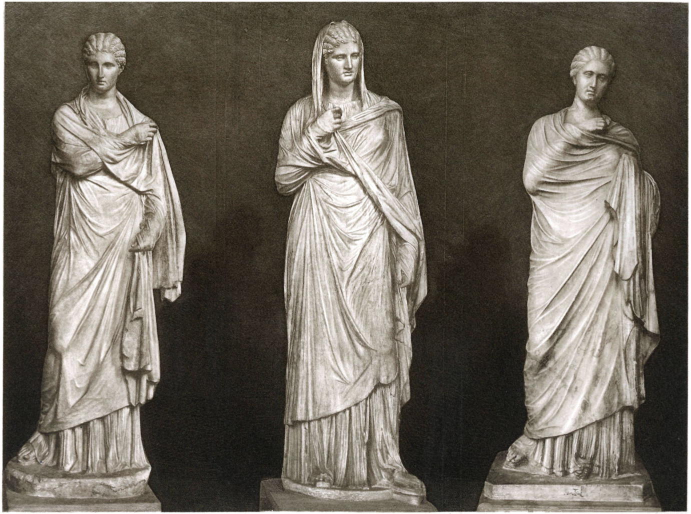
[1] See Appendix I.



Héliog. Dujardin.

Pl. VII

Three Female Marble Statues
(Dresden and Naples)

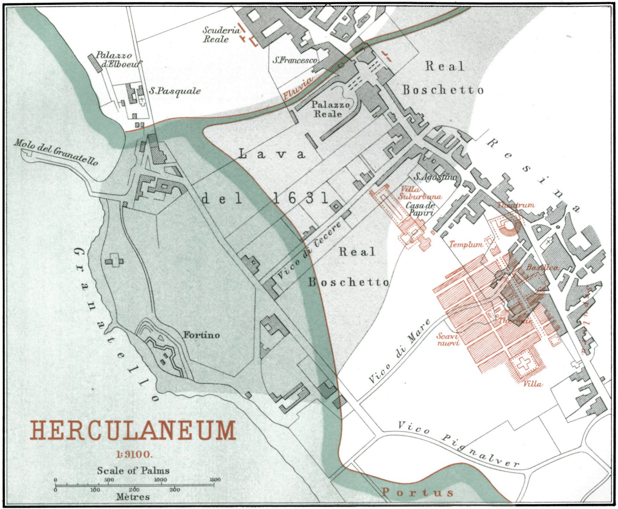
that the sum granted and the staff to be appointed (however distinguished and highly competent they may be individually) are decidedly inadequate to carry the stupendous task to a satisfactory conclusion. The useful work, which we hope may at once be done at Herculaneum by the Italian Government, can only be tentative and preliminary ; but it will be of the highest importance if thereby it can be determined at what definite point and by what methods the great work of a complete and final excavation can be undertaken. We sincerely wish all success to our Italian *confrères*.

The important facts, however, remain : 1. That ancient Herculaneum must be excavated completely and thoroughly. 2. That for the good of the living and successive generations, and for the practical reason, that every year's delay makes the future excavation more costly and more difficult, this excavation must be vigorously pushed forward soon. 3. That for such an enterprise the present methods of work in excavation are inadequate, and that we require a complete reform of these methods. 4. That to carry out such work adequately we can reasonably claim the active support and co-operation of all civilised nations. 5. That such an international undertaking will favour and develop the good understanding and feeling of brotherhood among men and will bring us one step nearer to the ideals which we all have in common, and which, in our truly best moments, we all devoutly profess.

PART I

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

In dealing with Herculaneum in the Past and Present we have taken particular pains not to allow the main thesis of this book—that Herculaneum is the one site above all others which ought to be excavated—in any way to influence our treatment of the topography, the ethnography, the effect of the eruptions on the ancient remains, and the actual state of the site since the great eruption. We have thought it right occasionally to emphasise our doubts as to the arguments of writers strongly supporting our main thesis, when we did not feel satisfied that the data at our disposal warranted assurance on the points at issue. In spite of such scepticism, always called for in sound research, our conviction remains unshaken in the exceptional advantages which Herculaneum offers for the illustration of Hellenic life, art, and culture in a Graeco-Roman centre. The more we have always ourselves borne in mind the "negative instances," the stronger is our assurance in the positive grounds for our conviction.


Scuderia Reale
Palazzo d'Elboeuf
S.Pasquale
S.Francesco
Fluvia
Real Boschetto
Palazzo Reale
Molo del Granatello
Lava del 1631
S.Agostino
Villa Suburbana
Casa de Papiri
Theatrum
Resina
Templum
Basilica
Vico di Cecere
Real Boschetto
Granatello
Fortino
Thermae
Scavi nuovi
Vico di Mare
Villa
Vico Pignalver
Portus
HERCULANEUM
1:9100.
Scale of Palms
0
500
1000
1500
0
100
200
300
Mètres

Reproduced by permission from Julius Beloch's "Campanien".

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Stanford's Geogl. Estabt., London.

PLATE 10.

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY

THE position of Herculaneum cannot be rightly appreciated without some reference to the general topography of Campania.[1] Campania was in antiquity a very elastic term:[2] Timaeus (who wrote in the first half of the third century B.C.) is the earliest writer whom we know to have used it, and he did not include in it the neighbourhood of Cumae. Indeed, the term seems to have been limited to the Capuan district up to the time of the Second Punic War. Polybius (second century B.C.) appears to use it approximately in the current modern sense, though most maps to-day place Sinuessa at least, and some Cales and Teanum, as towns of Latium, whereas he includes them all in Campania. But in the days of the Empire the name Campania came to be applied to the whole of Augustus's "First Region of Italy," which included in addition Latium and other districts.

It is necessary to make this clear at the outset, in order to avoid misunderstandings, but in practice the term is applied to a definite, indeed to a remarkably individual area. Moreover, this area corresponds with fair approximation to the territory of the Campanian race,[3] *i.e.* those "Samnites of the plains" who[4] once held the Ager Falernus up to the Savo, and forced Naples to admit them to her citizenship. The boundaries of Campania in this sense are, roughly, to the north, the

[1] See map, Plate 1. Cf. Beloch, *Campanien*, pp. 1 and 2.

[2] Timaeus, *ap.* Strab. p. 248.

[3] See Part I. Chapter II.

[4] Beloch, *Campanien*, p. 10.

Volturus; to the south, Nuceria and the Surrentine peninsula. Its inland frontier was formed by the mountains Tifata and Taburnus, while its whole western front was washed by the Mediterranean.

Campania is a great volcanic plain,[1] once submerged, surrounded by the spurs of the Apennines. The simplicity of its coast-line is broken by the Gulf of Naples, bounded on each side by a projecting mountain mass partly severed from the mainland: on the north by the "Phlegraean Fields," a cluster of old craters and small plains, and by their continuation, the islands Prochyta and Aenaria; on the south by the Surrentine peninsula and the island of Capreae. The "Phlegraean Fields" are isolated by a wide expanse of plain; the Surrentine peninsula, the southern boundary of Campania, is a spur of the Apennines. Towards the east end of the Gulf towers the mass of Monte Somma and Vesuvius, the point where cross two great volcanic ranges running north and south, east and west:[2] Monte Berici, Amiata, the crater lakes Bolsena and Bracciano, the Alban hills, Stromboli, Etna; and Volture, Monte Epomeo in Ischia (Aenaria), and the Ponza islands. East and south of Vesuvius the narrow valley of the Sarnus runs down from the Nolan plain, which opens westward into the great expanse of Campania. It was in this valley, on the slopes of Vesuvius west of the Sarnus, that Pompeii lay. We are here more concerned with the coast between Vesuvius and Naples. The Sebethos, the river of Naples, and the Veseris farther east run through a swampy valley. It was at the south-east end of this district, on the south-west slopes of Vesuvius,[3] about five miles from Naples by the coast-road and some four and a half miles from the crater, that Herculaneum stood. She was perched, as two[4] of the scanty ancient notices state, upon rising ground near the sea: Strabo (second half of the first century B.C.) calls the site "a foreland jutting out into the sea," and adds that it caught the south-west wind in a wonderful manner, so as to make the place a healthy residence. Sisenna (119-69 B.C.) states that the town lay between two rivers. Ruggiero[1] is, on *a priori* grounds, sceptical about the rivers; but the mistake, if there be one, must be Sisenna's, not the copyist's, for the fragment owes its preservation (by the grammarian Nonius) to the fact that Sisenna used the rare feminine form "fluviae."

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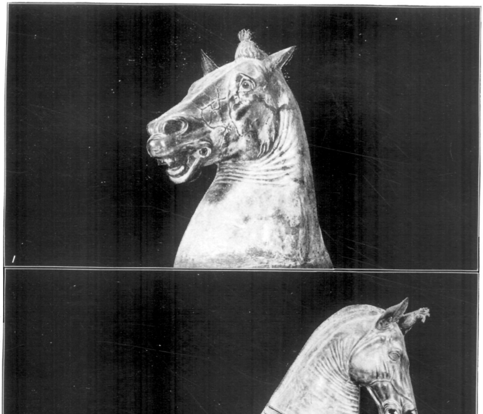
[1] Mau-Kelsey, p. 1. See also Part I. Chapter III.

[2] Mau-Kelsey, p. 1.

[3] Nissen, *Italienische Landeskunde*, 1902, ii. 2, p. 757.

[4] Strabo, p. 246; and Sisenna, Frags. 53 and 54, Peters. Cf. Winckelmann, *Werke*, ii. pp. 7 *seq.*

The whole line of the coast has been so essentially modified by various eruptions that we can hardly be certain of more than this, that the sea once ran much farther inland than it does to-day. We know from Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] that the town had harbours, safe under all conditions; but of these no trace remains. It has been thought that the name of the modern Resina is a modification of the old name of these harbours, "Retina"; but the name Retina rests solely upon a doubtful reading of a corrupt passage in the younger Pliny,[3] and most recent critics prefer to explain the word as the name of a lady. Beloch[4] has tried to trace the course of the "fluviae," and believes that the lines of their respective beds were followed by the two later lava-streams, which run down to Granatello and the Marinella di Resina; he further supposes that a harbour lay at each of their respective mouths. [illegible] the fact that there is still a spring



BRONZE HORSE AND HEAD OF HORSE. PLATE 28.

Life-size.

Nearly a century separates the appearance of the eleventh and last volume from that of the first.[1] The value of these volumes varies greatly, and for a full account of them we must refer the reader to W. Scott's *Fragmenta Herculanensia*,[2] and Comparetti and De Petra's *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*.[3] The nature of the library has already been briefly discussed.[4] Connected with this publication is Carlo Rosini's *Dissertatio Isagogica ad Herculanensium Voluminum Explanationem*, of which only the First Part was ever published;[5] it contributes nothing to our knowledge of the *Volumina*, but, in spite of some diffuseness, it was a valuable contribution to the general knowledge of Herculaneum. This is not the place to deal with the bibliography of Herculaneum;[6] but we may call attention, in conclusion, to two or three works of particular importance: De Jorio's *Notizie sugli Scavi di Ercolano*;[7] Barnabei's *Gli Scavi di Ercolano*;[8] Comparetti and De Petra's *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni*;[9] and finally, Ruggiero's admirable and painstaking publication, *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano*.[10]

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[1] 1763-1855; see Bibliographical Appendix.

[2] Oxford, 1885.

[3] Torino, 1883.

[4] In Part I. Chapter I., p. 83.

[5] In 1797.

[6] See throughout Bibliographical Appendix.

[7] Naples, 1827.

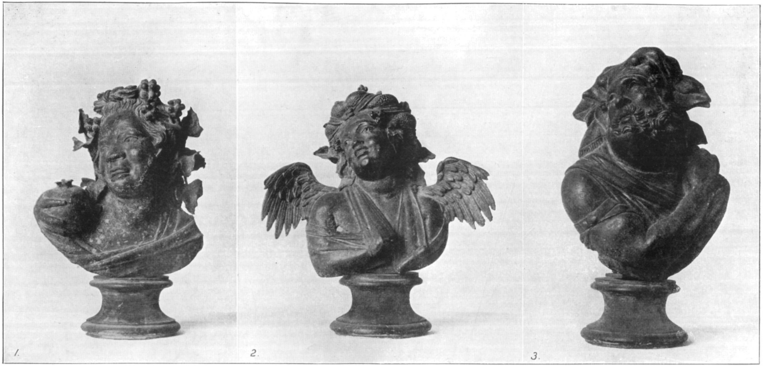
[8] In *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1878, pp. 751 ff.

[9] Torino, 1883.

[10] Naples, 1885.

PART II

THE FUTURE



THREE SMALL BRONZE 'GROTESQUE' HEADS.

CHAPTER I

REFORM OF EXCAVATION

I HAVE maintained before (see Introduction, p. 16) that the art of excavation is quite inadequate to the just demands put upon it: that, in fact, it still remains in a stage which, in warfare, we should call the bow-and-arrow phase, and that all the discoveries and inventions made to facilitate and to render scientific investigation in other departments of research more accurate, as well as more fruitful, have been ignored by the archaeologist. At all events he has not been put in a position to apply them.

Now in saying this I must from the outset emphatically guard myself against the charge of meaning thereby that this only, or above all, applies to considerations of facility and celerity, the saving of time or labour in the prosecution of the work, important as such factors will ever be where human energy is expended. It is above all in view of the claims of accuracy and thoroughness of work, in order that the results of our labour should assure all the benefits to science and mankind which the highest scientific achievements undoubtedly produce, that a reform of our practice in excavation is urgently called for. The efforts made and the methods of work adopted ought to be commensurate with the importance of the enterprise. And when the excavation of a great site is undoubtedly of the highest material and moral advantage, not only to the nearer or remoter districts and the country in which the site is situate, but to the whole of civilised mankind, we ought to be prepared to make sacrifices corresponding to those incurred in the digging of one of the great tunnels which are of such undoubted advantage to commerce and transport ; and the thought we expend and the methods of work we adopt ought to be on the same scale in quality and in magnitude.

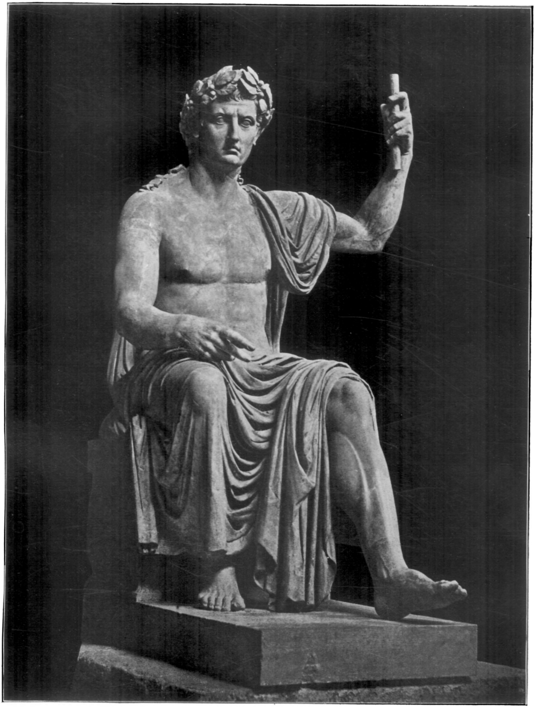
I must also at once point out that there are some forms of excavation in which the older or antiquated methods must still apply ; just as, whatever improvements in the manufacture of certain goods modern inventions may have brought about, some of the old practices of our forefathers in handiwork will always remain the best means of dealing with them. In such cases, mechanical appliances favouring rapidity of production and accuracy of execution can never be applied. There are also stages in manufacture when mechanical improvements may best carry the work to a certain stage ; though the finishing touches have always to be put in by the simplest individual labour. This especially applies to all work where beauty and artistic quality are the essential characteristics aimed at, or where human intelligence and judgment in their most varied and subtlest forms are called into action. But when supreme accuracy and completeness in keeping records of what is found and how it is found are perhaps the first, certainly among the essential, requirements of the work, such hesitation in using modern improvements does not apply. It is then found that the more the personal equation, the accidents of individuality and of change in physical conditions can be eliminated, the more thorough and fruitful is the work. Astronomical, physical, chemical, biological, and pathological studies have all applied these purely "objective" helps with which the discoveries of mechanical science have supplied them ; and they have found these helps more accurate than the hands of man—even though they brought economy of time and labour in their wake. In some cases it may still be desirable for the researcher to cut his slides with a razor and not to use the most improved form of microtome ; but such cases must be exceptional. Thus in the excavation of graves, and in the thorough searching of a "pocket," or when, let us say, in the great excavation of a buried city we have penetrated a house and have come upon a mass of delicate objects, the earth may have to be carried away in baskets, and the excavator may have to use his penknife while crouching in a narrow space to lift the objects carefully. But preceding this phase of work, even in such cases, he might have applied more mechanical means of actual digging and of transporting the earth.

But in no case can it be desirable that the workmen be left to themselves and that there be not the constant supervision of the expert, who uses every means of recording all the conditions of the find at every stage, and of supervising and tabulating the results discovered immediately after they have emerged from the ground.

I venture to maintain that all excavations are undermanned in respect of this most important condition of all thorough and systematic excavation. In an excavation properly carried on, there ought never at any point to be work done without an expert to direct, observe, and record. Especially ought the mechanical help of photography to be called in here. Periodically, at intervals as short as possible, photographs of the deposits ought to be taken and kept within the context of the record of work, as well as photographs of the objects *in situ* and during the various phases of their disinterment; and all these photographs ought to be so kept, that, long after the excavation is completed, it ought almost to be possible to reproduce the actual excavation on the principle of the cinematograph, to which the written records would be a complete commentary. Furthermore, the arduous task of examining and preserving all the ancient objects found at any point ought to be entrusted to the expert supervising that portion of the work, which, even though he has to deal with a very small and circumscribed space, will require all his intelligence and care.

Take but one class of objects as an illustration. In most excavations, if not in every one, potsherds occur in great numbers.

Fragments of vases are constantly turned up by hundreds. Under present conditions of work, they cannot all be kept. We need but visit the rubbish-heaps of any great excavation in classical lands to find a large number of these fragments every year washed up to the surface by the rains. Many of these are of considerable interest, and now form part of the collections of antiquities legitimately formed by the traveller who visits ancient sites. It was at the time quite impossible for the archaeologist supervising the work of excavation to take account of, and to preserve, all these fragments. Yet each one of these may subsequently have been of great importance in elaborating the results of the excavation. Roughly, the principle followed during excavation is that, unless the fragments are manifestly parts of a complete vase, or come from a clearly prescribed site, such as a grave, the only fragments kept are those that are either decorated with a definite design or, if undecorated, are characteristic as illustrations of definite phases in ceramics. But even the unpainted fragments may (when we have reached the phase of sorting and restoring) be parts of an important vase, the painted portions of which have been preserved, while the absence of the missing portions makes the complete restoration of that vase impossible, and thus for ever prevents undoubted evidence as to its form. It may also be of great value to determine what the proportion of the coarser or less decorated vases is to the finer and more artistic specimens; and the light thrown on ancient life by the coarser and more amorphous specimens of ceramic art may, in its turn, be as important to the scholar and historian as that shed by the artistic perfection of the most beautiful specimen of the potter's craft. Moreover, the relative numbers and quality of such works combined, as they appear at a given point, may determine for us whether the site was that of a domestic settlement or of a religious sanctuary, whether they served daily use or were deposited as votive offerings to the god of the sanctuary or to the dead, or



COLOSSAL MARBLE STATUE OF AUGUSTUS. PLATE 30.

Head restored.

illustrated an agonistic victory on this spot. The frequency or sporadic nature of their occurrence may also determine their own nature and destination. So, for instance, it was the frequency of the appearance of bronze and iron spits, pins and rings, at the Argive Heraeum which led me at an early stage of the excavations to surmise that these objects may have served as money (no actual coins having been found in these deposits), and would thus throw some light on the tradition that Pheidon of Argos had on this very site deposited the ὀβελίσκοι (spits) when coinage was introduced by him—which view has since been accepted and developed by the special numismatic authorities.[1] It will always be of unique importance to the archaeologist to see antiquities as they are buried in the ground, and no amount of work in the study, far removed from classical lands, will make up for the absence of this experience.

Concerning all these circumstances of discovery careful and complete records must be made on the spot and during the process of excavation, and these records must ever be available during the subsequent and important process of cleaning, sorting, and piecing together what has been found. At every stage, moreover, and with every object found, its relation to, and bearing upon, the site as a whole must be borne in mind. The topography, nature, and destination of the site will be essentially modified in the mind of the student as he allows the actual light of individual finds—the "black layers," "pockets," and other groupings of objects in the earth, their individual nature, distribution, and numerical frequency—to add their testimony to the other evidence at his disposal. The nature of such "black layers" or "pockets," showing that meat and bones have been thrown in with the objects, may, under certain conditions, point to the proximity of an altar or a grave. Agonistic prize-vases may add their evidence to the identification of an agonistic centre. Sepulchral vases naturally point to graves. Votive offerings of definite character may help us to identify a certain sanctuary; the numerical proportion, again, of such finds among each other may show, *e.g.*, whether a large number of cooking utensils point to domestic dwellings, which an isolated case would not do, etc., etc.

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[1] See Svoronos in the *Journal Internat. d'Archéologie Numismatique*, ix., 1906, pp. 192 *seq.*

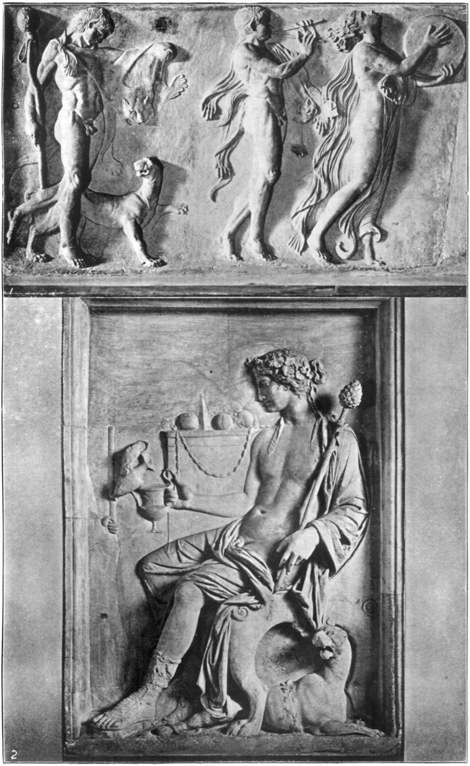
Yet how far have these conditions, which are essential to a proper excavation, been fulfilled in the excavations with which I have been acquainted? To avoid the spirit of unfair criticism of my colleagues—some of whose work, in spite of all the deficiencies of their equipment, has been most productive of important and brilliant results—I shall, as far as possible, confine myself, in pointing out the shortcomings of our actual methods, to my own work; though, in fairness to myself, I must add that it was under the circumstances not inferior in method to that of other excavators.

The first and foremost difficulty to be met is the absolute inadequacy of means for the undertaking of such work. This applies to almost every excavation with which I am acquainted. We should hardly think of undertaking the building of a road, still less the construction of a railway, with such rudimentary preparations and equipment. And we must remember that, besides the difficult tasks similar to those of a great engineering enterprise, an archaeological excavation is followed by the additional duty of preserving, describing, and identifying the priceless objects which the spade of the excavator has brought to light.

The excavator, in most cases, when he begins his task, has had no training in the actual work of digging the earth. He is not acquainted with the use of the proper tools—which are rarely provided in an archaeological excavation: with the engineer's experience how to attack the problem of an unsurveyed site: with the ordinary experience of a foreman in directing the work of a gang of men. The difficult position in which one thus inexperienced is placed, when he has to organise and to distribute large gangs of workmen, themselves sorely in need of instruction in digging and in the very use of the implements of their craft ; when, after five or six gangs of men are properly set to work, he is suddenly appealed to by one gang on completion of their task with the question, how they are now to be shifted to another quarter ?—all this confusion can well be imagined when there is no engineer or proper master of the works provided, and when the funds will hardly admit of the employment of such skilled assistants. The site once defined, an important problem is to fix upon the best spot for dumping the waste earth. The greatest mistakes can here be made. I would but remind the reader of how Schliemann (and later his successor, Dr. Doerpfeld) had to cut through the previous dumpings covering the remains which he had in later stages to excavate at Hissarlik, and the confusion—often the complete obliteration—of archaeological landmarks which was thereby caused. Instances of such difficulties, arising out of a false step in choosing the dumping ground, abound. But the main reason for the occurrence of such primary mistakes is to be found in the fact that, from the very outset, the funds available do not admit of a proper laying out of the work on a scale commensurate with its importance, and that those providing for the work are not filled with the conviction that no money is misspent which can in any way reasonably be expected to make the work more methodical and complete. To convey the refuse earth any considerable distance from the site would be far too expensive with the limited sums at the disposal of the excavator, who can only hope to pay the expenses of the actual digging and finding, and dare not even consider the following stages of preservation, transport, and elaboration. The methods employed in conveying the earth have been, and generally are, the rudimentary transport by means of baskets, each carried to and fro by a workman. Naturally it becomes a matter of vital importance that these should not be carried far. The wheel-barrow is not always available. In my excavations at the Heraeum we had from twenty to forty carts with horses. I believe Schliemann was the first to use the small Décauville railways. But in large excavations many innovations and improvements might here be introduced.

Has any one of these excavations, in which it may reasonably be expected that stones and other objects of great size and weight will have to be lifted and transported, been supplied with a crane, or even with an ordinary pulley? Look at the masses to be handled in the excavation of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, and remember that this was one of the excavations most liberally supplied with ample means by the German Government. Sir Charles Newton was in an exceptionally favourable position; for he had with him the handy crew of the British man-of-war, with their appliances, directed by competent officers, when he carried on his excavations at Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Branchidae, and transported the treasures there found. I remember how, when in 1891 we excavated at Eretria, having no means to raise them, we had to break up successively the large blocks of sandstone superimposed one above the other, before we came upon the sarcophagus itself, which, I still venture to think, is, with a high degree of probability, the tomb of Aristotle.

I repeat, that, for a great excavation—especially one like Herculaneum—we may expect the expenditure of as much labour, time, and money as are devoted, let us say, to the boring of a great tunnel. The preliminary care and study, the provision of all improved machinery and appliances for working the ground, should certainly be as liberal and as advanced as in a great engineering enterprise. Unless the "handiwork" stage has been reached, when in a given house or in a "pocket" the most careful digging with the use of the penknife of one expert is called for, human ingenuity is to be summoned to devise means of mechanically dealing with large masses of earth, not only thus economising and accelerating labour, but insuring greater accuracy in the production of results. If lava be met



TWO MARBLE RELIEFS. BACCHANALIAN PROCESSION AND SEATED DIONYSOS.

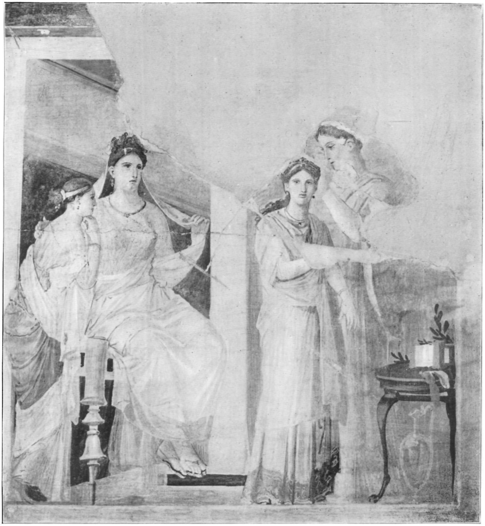
Head of Dionysos restored. PLATE 31.

with in the upper layers, the newest machinery should be devised for cutting and removing it.

But, above all, while the work is carried on, there should be an adequate staff of experts to supervise and direct and to determine important points at once and on the spot; for these cannot be as profitably dealt with in the later stages when the works are removed far from the site in which they were discovered. Besides the archaeologists and engineers, the architect, the geologist, and chemist ought all to be on the spot to determine the questions within their special province as they necessarily arise in the course of the actual digging. How often, while excavating the Argive Heraeum, was their help indispensable, when the analysis of the various earths, of a small quantity of colouring matter (which might have thrown light on the nature of the paints used by the ancients), was required! The important question of the preservation of volatile and delicately changing substances arose. Such timely assistance might have saved much that was destroyed or damaged, and been of general help in many other departments of excavation.

Undermanned as we were, most of our excellent and enthusiastic helpers being untrained to such work—in fact, often students who had not yet completed their preparatory studies in archaeology,—how could the records be properly kept, when our limited means did not provide us with proper repositories for the finds or with the arrangements for their classification? The notebooks of my assistants were diligently kept according to their lights; every basket full of materials found at a given spot was marked with a paper enclosed to identify the spot and the date of its find. They remained during the season beside our tents, the rain softening the adhering earth as it penetrated the baskets. At the end of the season, in carts and on mule-back, the more brittle objects packed as carefully as possible in boxes and oil-tins, our finds were carried for several miles to Argos, and there deposited in the small local Museum—a few of the most portable objects being at once transferred to Athens. At the end of the fourth season all that was deemed important and could thus be transferred was taken on railway trucks to Athens. Our means of transportation were quite inadequate, and no proper help was forthcoming from other quarters.

Once transferred to the Central Museum, the baskets and boxes were deposited in a room which happened to be empty. Here the unpacking began, and those assistants who had taken part in the excavation—the distribution of work having been planned and organised—were charged with the difficult task of sorting and cleaning, great stress being laid upon the fact that the records indicating the exact spot whence the objects came should be preserved. This work was then carried on spasmodically during some years, during which time all the objects had to be removed from one room to another—as the space was required by the Museum authorities. Further, the assistants at first engaged on the work were called away by their appointments, studies, or careers in the United States; others had to take their place in the excavations and be trained anew, sometimes leaving before the task was completed; and the delicate and confusing work on the finds at the Museum often passed from hand to hand. It was even impossible to secure the services of some who had taken part in the excavations for the work of final publication. I myself, the hapless director of the whole excavation and responsible editor of the results, resided in England, and could only pay occasional visits to Greece, there to maintain some system and order in the arrangement and publication of the material. Moreover, the book was printed in America, under the guidance of an "Editorial Committee of the Institute," with whom, while I resided in England, at a distance of several thousand miles, complicated questions of ways and means of publication (to be finally ratified by the vote of a large and heterogeneous general committee), of illustration, editing, printing, etc., had to be



WALL-PAINTING. TOILET SCENE. PLATE 32.

Severer style.

agreed upon and settled. The assistants, to whom I had justly assigned the publication of the several chapters over their name, were scattered over Europe and America, and all criticism, suggestions, advice, and injunction had to be conveyed to them by me through correspondence. The misunderstandings and delays spread over years, and the final official publication at last appeared, when later discoveries had caused the objects and the views originally expressed in many cases to be antiquated and superseded.

How can justice be done, under such conditions, to the priceless treasure which the spade of the excavator reveals to the world? How can accuracy and thoroughness in the excavating work and in the elaboration of its result be thus ensured? No doubt there have been many excavations more amply provided with means, with a more adequate staff of expert assistants, with material aids to excavation, and with far more favourable arrangements for cleaning, sorting, restoring, and publishing the results attained. But there have been many in Italy as well as in Hellenic countries where matters were in every stage worse. Even in the brilliant German excavations of Olympia, generously endowed by the Government, it took about twenty years to present the excellent final publication to the expectant world. The results of the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens, the objects there found at the end of the eighties of the last century (the work of studying and arranging them also passing through several hands), have not yet been all given to the world. I could even adduce more striking cases than these from all parts of the world, including Italy.

I therefore repeat that our methods of excavation now in use, the equipment and preparation with which we undertake huge tasks of this nature, the actual methods of digging, of finding, arranging, and elaborating the treasures, the numbers, constitution, and regular functions of the staff,—all require complete revision and reform. No better opportunity of effecting such salutary changes can be found than when such a huge enterprise as the complete excavation of Herculaneum presents itself. This would furnish the supreme type of the most improved methods and procedure in such important scientific enterprise. And, should the work be undertaken there and carried to a successful conclusion—which can only be done by means of these improved conditions,—it will be not the smallest of the important results that the whole practice of excavating will thus be raised to a standard adequate to the importance of the scientific results to be attained.

It is in the light of these experiences that we now desire to sketch out in its essential features the plan of such an international excavation of Herculaneum. The task will be considered from three points of view : (1) before the actual excavation ; (2) during the excavation ; and (3) after the objects have been found.

CHAPTER II

BEFORE EXCAVATION

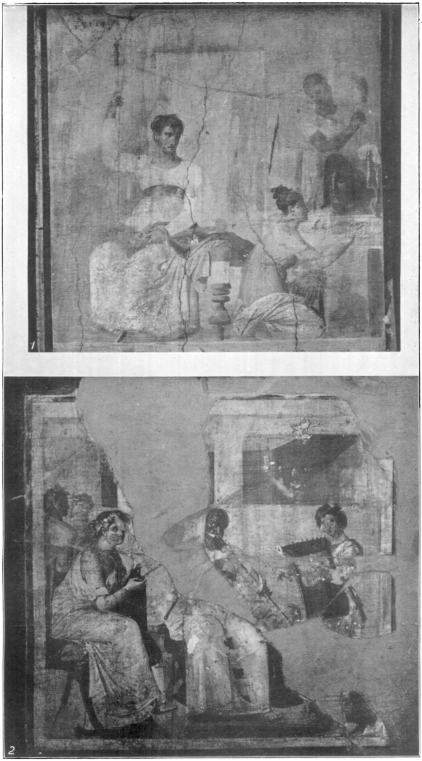
INSTEAD of laying down dogmatically our plan for a future excavation of Herculaneum in a form which might readily assume a magisterial and presumptuous tone, in prescribing what ought to be followed by those entrusted with the work, we think that it will be more advisable to put what we have to say in the form of a supposition that the enterprise has actually been decided upon as an international excavation, and that we are following in imagination the various phases of the work.

We thus hope to avoid the constant repetition of the "injunctive" forms, "ought, should or would," which would make our exposition tedious and pedantic ; while, at the same time, the fictitious character we adopt will free us from the charge of arrogantly prescribing the lines which in this great work are absolutely to be followed.

Yet, while adopting this lighter form of an imagined realisation of our plan, we would urgently beg the reader not to consider what we are here writing as merely imaginary or even fantastic. It is not a playful excursion into dreamland. On the contrary, the postulates are all within the sphere of sober and practical realisability. We choose the hypothesis that our general plan has been adopted and is being carried out, because we can thus show how in detail and definitely the various problems are to be dealt with. We wish to recognise the difficulties incidental to the execution of such a complicated and arduous task, and we wish practically to make the test of our calculations, assuming that the work is actually proceeding, and the numerous dangers to its realisation —which at once occur to the practical and conscientious mind —have in every case to be faced and overcome. The most useful critic of any new project or plan is he who begins his strictures with: "But how would you," or "how could you deal with this and that unfavourable contingency?" It is especially such a critic whom we wish to meet and to satisfy.

The national committees have done their work and have done it well. Large sums have been transmitted to the Treasurer of the International Committee at Rome. His accounts are regularly audited and are submitted in a report to the International Committee, by whom they are published annually. There is now the first important meeting of this International Committee, which, on this occasion, is honoured by the presence of H.M. the King of Italy, who consents to take the chair.

The first important business on the Agenda paper is the final organisation of the International Staff, which has been officially appointed by the King, who has consulted with the Minister of Public Instruction and with the Secretary of the International Committee. The latter has been in constant communication with the different national committees and learned bodies abroad. The Secretary reports that a few decisions still remain pending; for the invitation to the distinguished German archaeologist X. has not been finally accepted, as it was not yet decided whether he could relinquish the important work on which he was engaged in Asia Minor. He also reported that, on the urgent recommendation of the Italian Civil Engineer (who had carried the Mont Blanc tunnel to such a successful issue), he had conferred with the American Committee, as to whether the services of the American Mining Engineer R. (well known for his improve-



TWO WALL-PAINTINGS. PLATE 33.

? Preparations of Actors and Musical Concert.

ments in the new mode of using gentle hydraulic washing for removing large masses of earth in mines) were available.

So far the staff consisted of fifteen Italian and fifteen foreign members.

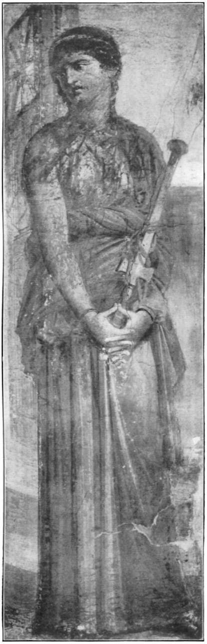
A discussion arose, whether the number of foreign members of the staff should be equally balanced, and if so, on what principle? It was pointed out that, in the interest of the work—which was, after all, the matter all had most at heart—such a formalistic principle might be disadvantageous; that certain individuals might be required for the work irrespective of their nationalities, and that thus some one nation, perhaps not one of the great Powers, might be able to furnish more men actually required than another State. It was decided—all the foreign representatives, excepting one, agreeing—that no absolute regard ought to be paid, either to the size of the contributory State or of the contribution made by it to the fund, in selecting members on the staff; though some consideration ought to be given to such qualification.

All this referred to the full members of the staff. It was furthermore reported by the Secretary that he had been informed by several of the national committees, that they had made provision to pay stipends and studentships to their own members on the staff and to the students sent out by them. These stipends differed among each other. The question then arose, whether all such stipends ought to be paid out of the international fund or not; and whether it was desirable that there should be uniformity among the stipends of the staff. The matter was referred to a Committee for the drafting of a report to be sent to all the national committees, mentioning the proposal of those committees who offered to pay the stipends themselves, asking for their several opinions, while suggesting the desirability of a certain uniformity in the scale of payment.

It was also reported that sixty younger foreign students had been announced by the national committees as ready to take part in the excavations. After some discussion it was decided that these should be divided into two categories: (1) Associates; (2) Probationers. The Associates should be considered as members of the staff and should be under the common control of the staff. They should not, however, be eligible as members of the several committees of organisation and administration, nor as directors of departments. The Probationers should not form part of the staff; and, while being present at the work in which they could be employed, they would be under the immediate direction of the members of the staff of their own nationality, who would be responsible for their good conduct. They might, however, in due course be proposed as Associates.

The Committee was furthermore informed that a considerable number of these foreign members had already arrived at Naples, and that the question of their housing and support had become urgent. The Sindaco of Resina had already informed the Secretary that a certain number of the better houses in the town had prepared apartments and rooms which might be found convenient lodgings for members of the staff. He enclosed a list of such available houses. But prominent members of the staff had suggested that it was desirable that meals—at least the midday meal—should be taken in the immediate vicinity of the works, and that there ought also to be some place where the whole staff could meet and confer. The Secretary reported that a wealthy citizen of Naples had offered a sum to provide for such a meeting-place. It was decided that temporary buildings or sheds should be erected on the site for a common dining-hall and meeting-room (to serve also as a reading and writing room, with foreign newspapers) for the use of the staff, and that arrangements be made that midday and evening meals be supplied at cost price.

It was also pointed out that, in preliminary consultations with members of the staff, it was found urgently desirable that certain temporary buildings be erected, viz. (1) a large



WALL-PAINTING. MEDEA.

PLATE 34.

shed for the storing of the objects unearthed, immediately upon finding them, grouped and kept together for the time being in strict accordance with the district, layer, or spot where they were found ; (2) large sheds where the various objects—statues, inscriptions, vases, etc., etc.—when released from Shed I. should be stored ; (3) large cleaning and sorting shed ; (4) chemical laboratory ; (5) photographic studio, drawing and designing room ; (6) engine-house and machine-sheds ; (7) power-house. A large house in Resina was available which could serve as the central offices, where records could be kept and all clerical and administrative work carried out. The necessary appropriations were made to meet these demands, the Secretary, Treasurer, and Minister of Public Instruction to form a Committee together with five members of the staff to see that this preliminary work was done.

The discussion concerning the organisation of the staff required so much time and thought that it had to be deferred to another meeting. At the subsequent meeting this organisation was decided upon in its main lines. From the very outset it was agreed that the members of the staff, including the Associates and Probationers, should in no wise be grouped according to nationalities, but according to the natural needs and exigencies of the work itself. It was even thought desirable as a principle that the nationalities should as far as possible be mixed and blended.

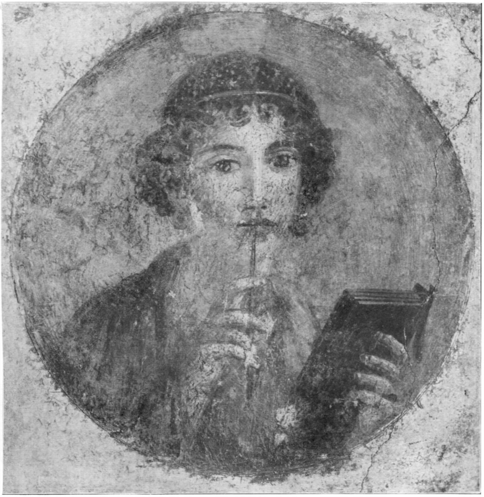
Though the International Committee considered itself responsible for the general constitution governing the action of the staff, and would always be ready to act as a court of final appeal on all questions referred to it by the staff or in all matters of difference on which the executive authorities could not agree, it was felt that the greatest latitude and power of self-government should be given to the staff carrying on the work, and in no sense should an initiative or interference on the part of the International Committee concerning the actual work of excavation be admitted.

This body, consisting of the full members of the staff, should form the chief authority on all matters of administration and all that concerned the actual prosecution of the work. The only appeal from its decision rested with the International Committee, such an appeal being granted if at least four members of the staff sued for it in writing.

The staff was presided over by the Chief, an Italian appointed by the King on the recommendation of the Minister of Public Instruction. There were also to be three Vice-Chiefs to take his place in case he was forced to absent himself from the excavations. The Chief was the administrative head, and was to have authority and responsibility during the work in all cases where immediate action was called for, and where there was no time to refer matters to the several special committees or to the staff as a whole.

Though thus the staff as a whole was the chief power on the spot, for the practical working of the several departments there were to be sub-committees, each electing its own chairman. These several committees immediately concerned with the distinct departments, their chairman being the acting head of the department, were to be the following: (1) Committee on Engineering; (2) on Geology; (3) of the Chemical Laboratories; (4) on Architecture and Drawing; (5) on Sculpture; (6) on Painting; (7) on Inscriptions; (8) on Ceramics; (9) on Numismatics; (10) on the Minor Arts—terra-cottas, gems, etc., etc.; (11) Committee on Discipline; (12) the *Domus* Committee—housing, food, domestic and social arrangements; (13) Committee on the keeping of Records; and (14) Committee on Publications. Each of these committees should have the power of co-opting members from among the Associates. In the case of the Committee on Discipline there would still be the power of appeal to the whole body of the staff, and finally to the International Committee at Rome.

It was agreed that the language to be used at the meetings



WALL-PAINTING.

? Muse or Sappho.

should be Italian ; but that those unable to express themselves adequately should be allowed to use their own language, means of conveying their opinions to the meeting being provided.

The first meetings of the International Staff were concerned in forming the sub-committees and in defining the various departments of work, and then proceeded fully to discuss, and to decide upon, the general plan of work to be followed. Previous to these meetings the engineers and geologists had for some time been actively engaged in making a more thorough survey of the whole region adjoining the ancient site, small tentative borings were made to discover the exact distribution of the lava in the eruption of 1631, and the different configuration of the soil was determined at various points below Resina and in the immediate neighbourhood.

The first important question of a more general nature was discussed at great length and with thoroughness, namely, How far the excavations were to proceed from above, leaving the exposed remains open to the air ; or by means of tunnelling from below, leaving the surface and the houses of Resina undisturbed ? It was agreed that, in the lower portions towards the sea, where the depth of soil was not so great, the excavations were to proceed from above. This was especially the case to the north-west and south-east of the "Scavi Nuovi,"[1] where, moreover, there were no houses—the Royal Gardens of Portici are on the one side, and open fields on the other.

But towards Resina to the north, following the line of the streets, it was agreed that methods of tunnelling should be adopted. A lively discussion of a technical nature ensued between the engineers—the opinion of the geologists being called in as to the nature of the covering-soil at various points—as to how great a span could be left in any given case, between the solid mass of earth left standing in the middle of the streets and the point where the houses cleared were supposed to end ; also by what means these broad arched tunnels could be walled and concreted; how far steel pillars and girders could be used at various points without interfering too much with the appearance of the portions laid bare. Of course a complete system of electric lighting was to be employed from the beginning, and permanently installed in the portions excavated.

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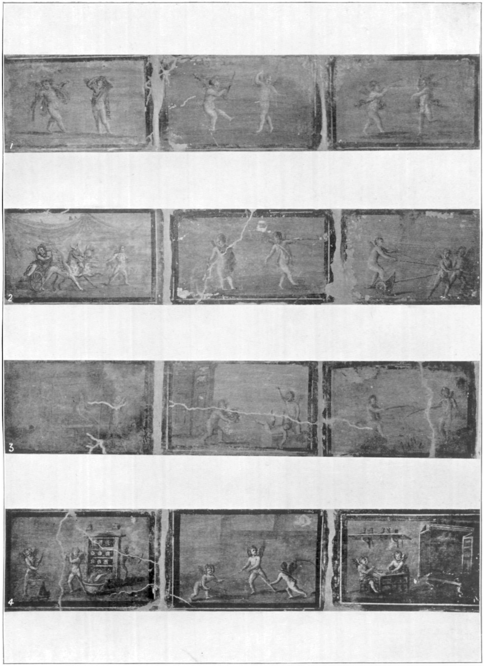
[1] See maps, Plates 10 and 11.

At this point the engineers and geologists appealed to their colleagues representing the artistic aspect of the enterprise, as to how far such subterranean exposition of the remains, with, perhaps, a forest of iron pillars, girders, and trestle-work, might not seriously impair the artistic effect. It was strongly maintained by a member of the staff, who especially represented the artistic aspect, that elements introduced into ancient structures and works of art which frankly, on the face of them, impressed upon the eye their true nature as preservative supports, in no way interfered with the effect which an ancient structure was to produce. On the contrary, from the very outset it impressed the antiquity of the work upon the spectator, and was far preferable to all forms of restoration which remodelled and modernised an ancient structure, or hid or covered the support necessitated by age and the ravages of time. It was like the repair or a *puntello* on ancient sculpture, which interfered far less with the essence of a work of art, than a complete restoration in which missing parts (noses, hands, etc.) were supplied and counterfeited as antique. To take a definite instance, he maintained, that in the Praxitelean Hermes at Olympia, the iron bar below the knees to the foot, formerly to be seen, was now replaced by a smooth new restoration of the leg (evidently borrowed from the Apollo Belvedere) which was quite out of keeping with the statue itself and disturbed its proportion and artistic effect. The presence of such pillars and girders in the Herculanean tunnels, besides clearly announcing the excavation of the buried city, would become, in that light, a picturesque



WALL-PAINTING. PLATE 36.

Frieze with Amorini variously occupied.

element in itself, like the complex fretwork of scaffolding in great modern buildings, which produced a peculiar artistic effect in itself. The general appearance of such an underground city, with well-regulated electric light, would add to the sumptuous effect of the excavations as a whole, and would avoid the monstrous and flat appearance which pertained to Pompeii, where street after street and house after house presented themselves to the weary tourist in the hard and uncompromising light of a Southern day.

Another member of the staff also pointed to the great advantage pertaining to such an underground exposition, in that the objects were sheltered from the effect of climate, sun and rain, which were visibly damaging the exposed buildings and the frescoes on the walls of Pompeii ; while the danger, ever present, from future eruptions and the rain of ashes, which might at any moment bury and destroy what had been excavated with such pains, was averted in the case of such a subterranean city.

The report of the engineers favouring the excavation in part from above, and in part by means of permanent tunnelling, was thereupon unanimously adopted.

The next question discussed was the disposal of the refuse earth. A letter was read from the Minister of Public Works at Rome, stating that the Government were ready to transport all the refuse by means of railway-trucks, if it could be brought from the excavations to any point on the Naples-Salerno line. The material would then be transferred in order to be utilised in the Naples harbour works. A member suggested that it might be utilised nearer home in the building of a *molo* for the harbour of Resina or Portici ; but it was decided to leave this question in the hands of the Ministry. On the other hand, it was agreed that a complete system of Décauville rails was at once to be planned from all the centres of excavation to converge upon a plot of ground to be walled in at a point joining the Naples-Salerno Railway. That all the earth brought to this enclosure was to be passed through a series of sieves—ranging from wide steel bars, to hold the larger and heavier objects, to the finest wires, retaining a small gem or sliver of metal—succeeding one another on slopes; that, under careful supervision, this earth was to be examined for any objects that might have escaped the notice of the excavators on the spot, and that the refuse should then be automatically transferred to the trucks belonging to the Department of Public Works.

The important question now presented itself to the staff as to how, and at what point or points, the excavations were to be begun.

The question of the actual extent of ancient Herculaneum was now discussed among the archaeologists.[1] Whether or not Herculaneum had town walls rested on very slight evidence. It seemed clear that the limits of the town could be defined in the direction of the sea. On the north-west side the theatre may mark the limit of the town; while the great villa, the "Casa dei Papiri," certainly does this to the west. On the north-east, Dall' Osso was led to believe that, on an analogy of Naples and the Piraeus, where we have the clearest specimens for the Hippodamian plan of laying out the city, the main street, running north-west and south-west, divides the town into two halves. We might thus compute an equal distance to the north-east from the main street as the portion towards the sea now gives us. But the outlines of both Naples and the Piraeus are not so regular as to give any certainty in this respect in the case of Herculaneum. The same uncertainty is to be found in attempting to define the south-eastern limits. Beloch may be right in considering the large building at the south-east (marked in La Vega's map with a cross,[2] and thought by him to be a temple) a villa outside the town, and thus defining the town limits to the north-east of that building.

On the whole it was agreed that the exact limits of the

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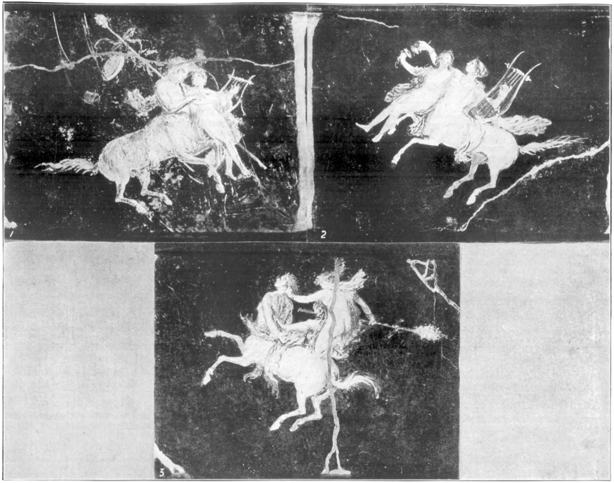
[1] See Book I. Chapters I. and IV., and Plates 10 and 11.

[2] See Book I. Chapter I., Plate 11.



DECORATIVE WALL-PAINTING. PLATE 37.

Bold decorative style.

town itself could not be defined with certainty. Nor was this deemed essential.

It was felt by all that, as regards the town, the most important point was the main street running from north-west to south-east. This street was already discovered in the eighteenth century.[1] Now it was, above all, important to rediscover this street.

The first suggestion made was, that, by working up the street of the "Scavi Nuovi," we must strike the main street at right angles, probably at a point between two buildings (the Curiae or temples)[2] and immediately opposite the Basilica.[3] This would at once give us the most important central points of the town. We know also that the excavation of the Basilica was not completed in the eighteenth century,[4] and that we might here expect to make important finds.

In connection with this desistance of the early excavators, it was also maintained that we know that some years were spent in digging tunnels all round the Basilica.[5] Now, the points where these tunnels were begun are fixed by the distance, given in *palmi*, from the theatre. Such a point might easily be identified, a shaft sunk, and the earlier tunnel followed up to the Basilica.

Another member, however, pointed out that the work at the Basilica was given up because some cottages above collapsed. Now, this group of cottages has been identified as lying between the "Vicolo di Mare" and the Gardens of Benedetto and Priori to the south.[6] These cottages can easily be found now, and a shaft sunk there would bring us to the Basilica.

It was shown that a complete excavation of the Basilica was one of the most important and promising tasks. In the eighteenth century it yielded a rich harvest of paintings and statues, and we know that the interior of the building was never attacked by the excavators (see Part I. Chapter I.). It could be predicted almost with certainty that great finds would here be made.

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[1] See Chapter I. Part I.
[2] See Chapter I. Part I.
[3] See Chapter I. Part I.
[4] See Chapters I. and IV.
[5] See Chapter IV.
[6] See Chapters I. and IV.

Ultimately it was agreed unanimously that the work of tunnelling should be begun up the street of the "Scavi Nuovi," so as to reach the main street opposite the Basilica. Simultaneously a shaft was to be sunk at the cottages above mentioned to reach the Basilica at this point, and, while excavating the Basilica, to tunnel in the direction of the "Scavi Nuovi" in order to meet the tunnel coming in that direction from below; also to work to the right and left along the main street when this was reached.

From the very beginning also excavation from above, entirely clearing away the top-soil, was to be vigorously pushed forward on the open land to the right and left (south-east and north-west) of the "Scavi Nuovi."

Furthermore, as Ruggiero (Introduction, pp. 40 and 41) has shown, the site of the great villa, the "Casa dei Papiri," can easily be found. It is almost due west of the theatre, the so-called *terrazzo tondo*[1] of the villa being about 370 metres from the theatre and 39.68 metres from the Caravoti (now Fanelli) garden.[2] It really stands in the Royal Gardens of Portici with no houses above it. Thus shafts could at once be sunk here, and it can then be decided whether the excavation should be from above, clearing the whole villa, or by means of tunnellings. In any case, when we remember the splendid finds in works of art and in manuscripts made in this villa, the knowledge that the excavation was not completed in the eighteenth century, and that the portions towards the ancient town still remain unexplored and intact, make it imperative that this work be at once undertaken. Works of art were found in every room of the house, and manuscripts were not confined to the library. We may therefore confidently look forward to the discovery of important treasures on this spot.

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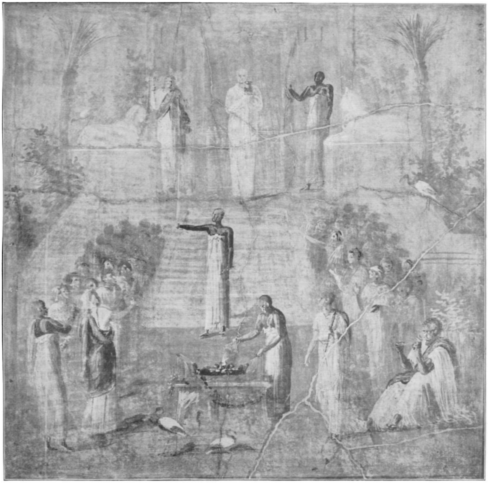
[1] See Part I. Chapter I.

[2] Ruggiero, *Scavi d'Ercolano*, p. xl. Introduction, *ib.* Map, Plate 11.



WALL-PAINTING. CEREMONY IN THE WORSHIP OF ISIS. PLATE 38.

Attention was also drawn to the fact that, if Beloch[1] is right in considering the large building at the south by south-west side of the ancient town (marked as a temple with a cross in La Vega's map) a villa, this might also give a great yield. It was decided to sink a shaft at this point and to begin extensive operations there.

Finally, it was decided to sink shafts at a point to the north-east, in the direction of Santa Maria di Pugliani, where objects were found (wall-paintings, etc.) which led Ruggiero[2] to believe that the house formed part of the town. Dall' Osso,[3] on the other hand, has good reasons for holding that this also was a villa. There are no houses above this spot.

The whole meeting agreed in deciding that, however desirable it was to excavate the town itself, in view of the *a priori* probability of making important finds in villas, and especially of the fact that by far the greatest treasures and the largest number of works of art and manuscripts all had come from the one villa, we must strain every nerve to discover such villas. Therefore, while the regular work was proceeding into the heart of the town, besides the shafts that were to be sunk at the points just indicated, several gangs of men were to be distributed over the whole immediate neighbourhood of the ancient town, to sink trial shafts in the hope of discovering such villas. As soon as such a site was identified, systematic excavation on a larger scale was at once to be vigorously pushed forward. This, in the opinion of the majority of the staff, appeared to be the most important part of the whole task before them.

At the end of these preliminary meetings of the staff it was also agreed that the actual workmen should, as far as possible, be drafted from Resina and the neighbouring towns.

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[1] *Campanien*, p. 229.

[2] *Scavi d'Ercolano*, p. vii. See Book I. Chapter I.

[3] *Tribuna*, January 29, 1907. See Book I. Chapter I.

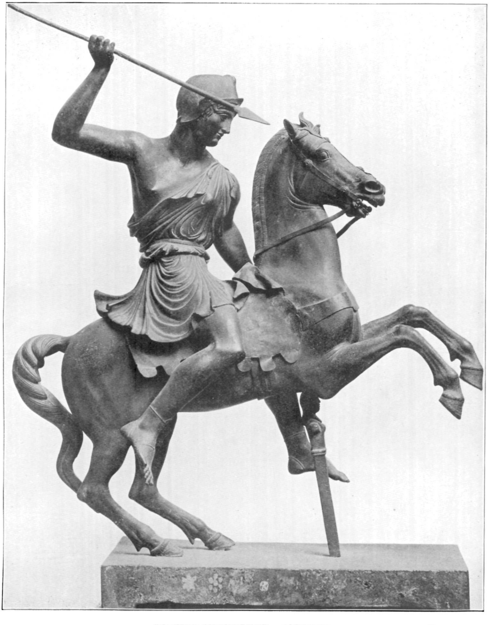
CHAPTER III

DURING EXCAVATION

The work is proceeding vigorously at several points. As we view the busy scene from the higher ground, we can distinguish different centres of excavation where masses of workmen are digging energetically. They become more distinctly recognisable by flags which are marked with different letters. In some cases it is only by means of these flags and the rails leading to the spot that we can identify them; for these are the tunnel or shaft mouths, and the work is proceeding underground.

As we look down from our higher point, we distinguish two large groups of workmen to the right and left of the "Scavi Nuovi"; these have flags marked respectively A and B. They locate the excavators clearing the masses of earth towards the Royal Gardens of Portici and the open spaces on the south-east. The flag marked C shows the mouth of the great tunnel following up the street to the north-east beneath the town of Resina. D and E are the flags to the north, marking the shafts sunk on the supposed site of the Basilica and at Santa Maria di Pugliano. F is the shaft-mouth at the great building to the south-east of the town, and G denotes the shaft to the "Villa Suburbana," the "Casa dei Papiri." Smaller flags in the distance tell us of the various exploring parties who are sinking shafts to find further suburban villas.

The high flag-pole, with the Italian flag fluttering in the wind, almost in the centre of the whole work, is placed in front of a shed to which telephone wires run from every one



BRONZE STATUETTE. AMAZON.

of the centres of work. Here the Chief of the staff with several vice-chiefs and *aides-de-camp* is always to be found, and is in constant communication with the several centres. Questions are at every moment referred to headquarters, and doubtful points submitted here for his decision—points relating to the administration of the work and the progress of the work itself. Either the Chief or one of the vice-chiefs is always to be found here. But periodically one or the other, who is *du jour*, makes the round of all the works on inspection.

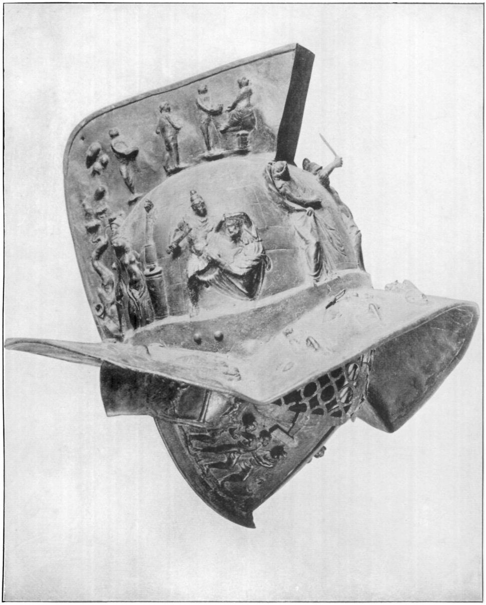
Another characteristic feature of the scene before us is the network of rails issuing from these several centres, and all converging to one point, the enclosed yard near the railway line. Here the trucks are plying to and fro from the open excavations or the tunnel-mouths, depositing the earth which is here carefully sifted before it is transported. But we also notice switches on these lines of trucks which lead to the large group of sheds near the Chief's office; and we can see how certain trucks, bearing small flags with the same letters as mark the flags at the point whence they come, are shunted to the sheds. The trucks contain the objects discovered at each point, and these are deposited in the large shed, each grouped separately according to the letter and number (A 5, D 3) on the flag, marking the truck that brought them.

While from the tunnel and shaft mouths in the town the trucks run on wire-rope overhead, or the rails are clear of the traffic in the streets and the houses, the open space of excavation radiating on either side from the present "Scavi Nuovi" down to the railway line is enclosed by a continuous high wooden fence. It has been found necessary to do this in order to keep persons not engaged in the excavation from trespassing on the works, impeding progress and rendering the careful guarding of the objects found less effective.

The whole question of policing was one of great difficulty. It was soon found necessary to exclude all persons who were not workmen or members of the staff from the field of operations, and at night a band of night-watchmen were always present at important works to guard the excavations and the storehouses. To ensure efficiency in this respect, and at the same time to further discipline, it was found necessary to provide all the workmen with bands worn round the arm, and even to give to each a card which was presented and left with the gate-keepers as they entered and returned from the works. This at the same time accounted for their presence during working hours, and made sure of the place being cleared when work closed.

It was found most practical to provide the members of the staff with caps and with badges distinguishing between full members, associates, and probationers. This secured for them ready access to all parts of the work, and enabled them to use their authority with workmen and against possible intruders. The large number of visitors who flocked to Herculaneum from all parts of the world, eager to see the work and the finds, soon made it necessary, while encouraging their interest, to fix certain days and hours for such visits to the different points of the excavation, when those objects that were in a state fit for exposition were shown. But such visitors were invariably accompanied by members of the staff. Special facilities were granted to members of foreign committees and contributors to the funds.

When now we visit any of the sections while the work is proceeding, we find a most systematic organisation. Each one of the sections, A, B, C, D, etc., is presided over by a full member of the staff, who may be an archaeologist, engineer, or representative of some other specialty. But each section must have at least an archaeologist and engineer in charge who are full members. Within the sections, again, the work is subdivided into groups consisting of smaller gangs of workmen distinguished by numbers, directed in their work by some member or associate of the staff, who is responsible for the workmen and must keep the full record or diary of his work. As regards the workmen, it was soon found that an *esprit de corps* was developed among each section and each gang within



BRONZE HELMET, WITH BATTLE-SCENE IN RELIEF. PLATE 40.

? Iliupersis.

the section, and that a closer relation—resulting in a sense of loyalty to their immediate chiefs—sprang up between the workmen and their particular members of the staff. They thus called themselves, and were known among each other, as A fives or E sevens; or by the names of their chiefs, as Giuliano's or Smith's men.

It was also found of great advantage, in order to arouse keenness and care, to give prizes for the results of work at once and on the spot. In order that picking and digging should be carried on with great care, a prize in money, the amount varying with the value of the article, was at once given to the man or the gang who discovered the object. But the prize-money was above all affected by the state in which an object was found. If it was broken or damaged, whatever its value, no prize was given. It was even found practical that a greater prize should be granted when the objects were handed over with the earth on and uncleaned, or if the workman desisted from taking the object out of the ground and called the chief at the head of his gang, pointing out the spot, so that the expert could himself dig the object out. For it was found that objects were often damaged when workmen began eagerly and roughly to clean them, to satisfy their curiosity or their greed, and that therefore the greatest praise was due to him who curbed his keenness and enabled the expert to deal with delicate objects with the proper care. While thus increasing the energy of the workmen, and at the same time ensuring care and caution, it was found that such a system of prize-money removed all temptation from among the men to steal the portable objects. For they soon found that they could rely on the fairness of their chiefs in recognising the value of the discovery, and that the sums they thus received were greater than those which dishonest dealers prowling about the works would have given.[1]

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[1] This system was developed by us in our excavations of the Argive Heraeum, and it was found to fulfil the objects here enumerated.

The chief of each smaller gang of workmen thus had a circumscribed area to work by himself, the plan of his work, prescribed by the chiefs of his section, and the general lines of work of each section having been agreed upon at the meetings of the whole staff; while the chief and his assessors were bound to see that these lines were followed in each section.

Now the chief of gang keeps the most careful diary of the work of his men, measuring and recording the layers as he proceeds. He must mark every object he finds with a running number, a definite colour in indelible ink showing that this mark designates the running numbers at the point of excavation.[1] An object would thus be marked B, V. 3473, showing the section, the exact spot, and the number in the course of excavation, from which the day and hour could be ascertained. These marks, it is needless to add, would be placed on a part of the object where the design would not be interfered with. Where such marking should prove impracticable, firmly adhesive labels would be attached.

To every section a photographer is attached. His work is so arranged that at every spot at which a separate gang is working he takes a photograph at fixed intervals. The negative itself is marked with the section and gang number, the date and the running number of the periodical view taken: D, VII. 12/4, 6, 10 means that the negative shows the work at Section D, Gang VII., on April 12, the sixth round of the photographer at 10 o'clock before noon. These negatives are at once taken to the developing shed and are developed, while, with the least delay, three prints are at once taken, the mark being visible on the right-hand corner. Between these periodical photographings, special photographs are taken of important objects at every stage of their discovery and emergence from the earth.

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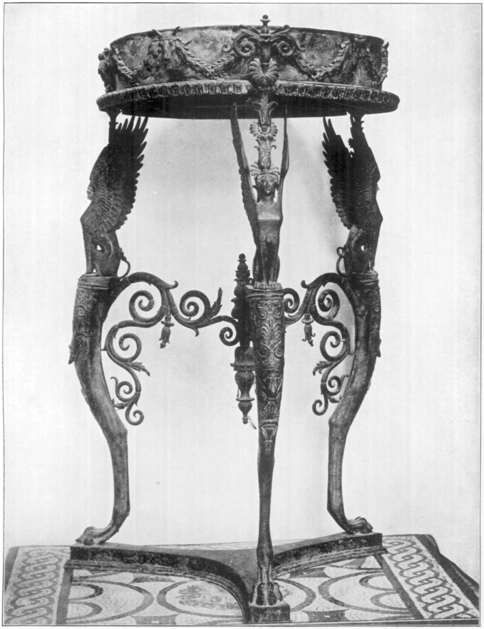
[1] We shall see in the next chapter that a different colour is needed to mark the objects in their grouping as objects—vases, statues, etc.



BRONZE TRIPOD.

Other kinds of illustrations are also frequently demanded to be made at once and on the spot. So, for instance, it is feared that the fresh and beautiful colour of a wall-painting or of some definite object may fade. One of the artists is called by telephone, and at once makes a faithful sketch in water-colour or oils, to be added to the day-book record, and fixes the state of the colours at the moment of its first discovery. In many instances the chemists have to be called in to determine how such delicate objects are to be handled. Most thorough preliminary experiments have been made, and are still being carried on, as to the exact nature of the colours used in the different works by the ancients. It is then decided whether a certain object may or may not be exposed to the light ; whether it is at once to be encased in glass, the air being excluded ; whether a glass is at once to be placed in front of a delicate wall-painting or not.

The chemical department has also done very successful work in dealing with bronzes. We are all rejoiced to hear that they can now secure immunity in the ancient bronze-*patina*, so that we need no longer hesitate, after due precautions have been taken, to make moulds from the most delicate bronzes. The exquisite bronze of the Seated Heracles, recently found in the Villa by the men of Section D, which caused such a thrill of excitement throughout the whole works—in fact, all over the world,—is now maintained by the competent authorities to be an early Greek reproduction of the famous Herakles Epitrapezios of Lysippus. We hear that the King of Italy has decided to have a number of facsimile reproductions made of this work, to be mounted on a pedestal bearing an inscription signed by the King, with the name of the person to whom it is to be presented inscribed in each case. After consultation, the King has decided to give a certain number of these to each national committee to be presented to their most generous subscribers.

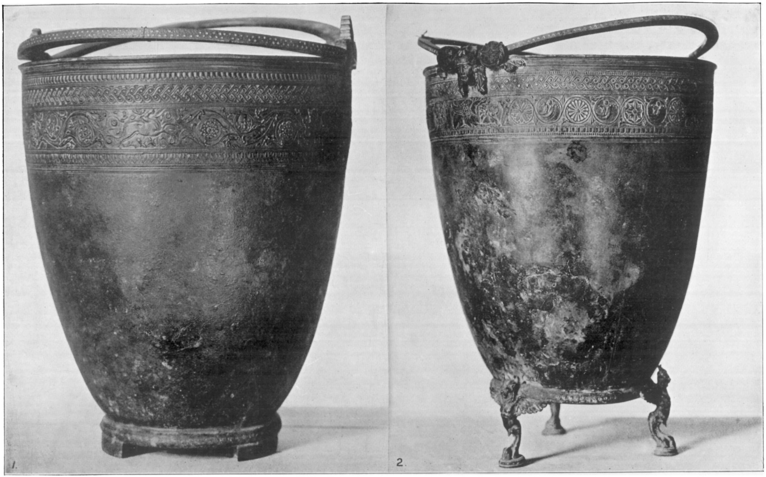
Architects and engineers have also occasionally to be called in by the chiefs of gang to decide about the safety of a wall, or to make plans and drawings of such structures as may be necessary in order that the work may proceed properly. Great difficulty has just been encountered in dealing with a house in Tunnel C. This house was found in a most perfect state of preservation, the upper storey and the roof being intact. The span of the tunnel, required to show it completely and to set the roof free, was found to be so great that it was decided to run a thick supporting wall to the top, thus, as it were, cutting the house in two, and exhibiting it in two separate tunnels.

Not long ago it was found necessary to transport carefully some of the earth to be analysed in the laboratory ; while some bones and some specimens of cereals, found in large vases (*pithoi*), were sent to the zoologists and botanists of the Royal Agricultural College at Portici for their examination, as some light might thereby be thrown on the nature of the building excavated.

Of all these incidents and facts the diary of each chief of gang takes most accurate records.

At the large store-shed, where the objects found each day are deposited, there is always the greatest activity. The trucks marked by the flags denoting the section and gang arrive continuously. Within this spacious shed the spot for depositing the finds from each section is fenced off. The trucks are carefully unloaded, and, by workmen skilfully trained, the contents are deposited and arranged with caution, according to the days of their discovery. At the end of the day the staff-member in charge of the site excavated at once proceeds to the shed, and, diary in hand, he identifies the objects sent down, his list being copied out by the officials present during this examination, and the list (serving as part of the inventory of the whole contents of the shed) is deposited with the clerk of the shed.

With this the stage of discovery, as far as it is immediately



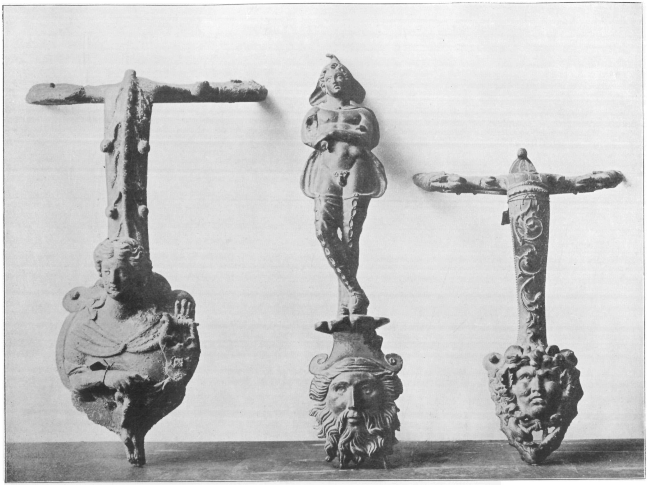
TWO BRONZE PAILS WITH SILVER ORNAMENTS.

connected with the actual excavation, has ended. We shall follow the process after this stage in the next chapter.

It will, of course, be seen how numerous a staff is required ; for at no time is there any part or point of the excavation without an expert inspector. As one man cannot be present during the whole of the working day, relays of members of the staff must be ready to take their turn at the work. Besides these, as will be seen in the next chapter, a large band of trained men will be required to supervise the different store-rooms and restoring and cleaning sheds, as also for the elaborate system of keeping the records. The department of publication, finally, will also require a considerable number of trained men. Therefore our rough estimate of one hundred members of the staff does not err in the direction of exaggeration. All the younger members of the staff will have to take their turn in these several departments of the work. Besides making their work on the spot more intelligent and efficient (for it is always good in a great organisation that the worker at one department or in one phase of the work should be acquainted with the relation which his part bears to the whole), this system will offer the most complete training to the archaeological student and to the future official of a museum. But the whole work itself, as we shall further see, thereby gains in organic quality, in accuracy and thoroughness, and in the complete control of the manifold and complex results which it presents.

A striking feature in the life of the staff is the midday meal taken in common. The chief presiding calls on the different heads of sections to make a short and informal report of the progress of the work during that day. He, in his turn, may call upon one of his chiefs of gang. The work is compared, difficulties as they arise are here rapidly discussed, additional or special help demanded. But this again serves to keep all the separate sections in touch with one another, and to enable the individual members to maintain some acquaintance with the work as a whole: never to lose sight of the due proportion in the work, to co-ordinate and subordinate their own efforts to those of their colleagues, and to foster the spirit of unity. They would thus always have present in their mind the great task which has brought them and keeps them all together, and the more remote ideals which move them and which inspired the whole enterprise.

Another striking and picturesque scene is afforded by pay-day, after midday each Saturday. The workmen, each bringing his tools, are all grouped together in a large semicircle, according to their sections and gangs, and are called up by name. The chief and the staff are seated in the middle of the circle. As each workman advances to receive his pay in a small open envelope, he deposits his tools, to be resumed by him on the following Monday. There may exceptionally be some word of praise or blame or warning addressed to individuals. This also applies to sections or gangs. Occasionally some form of address referring to the work, to discipline, or to matters concerning the enterprise as a whole, is delivered by the chief of the staff. But here too, among the workmen as among the staff, the *esprit de corps*, encouraged among the gangs and sections, is impressed upon the body of the workmen as a whole, and every means used to quicken their intelligent interest in the enterprise and the higher aims which inspire all concerned in it.



THREE BRONZE HANDLES OR KNOCKERS.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER EXCAVATION

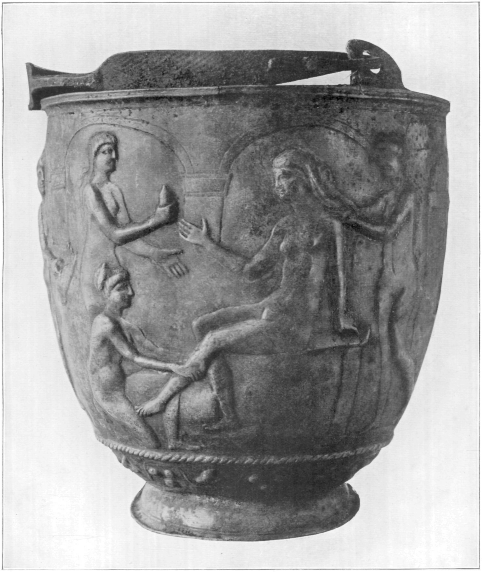
In the last chapter we left the chief of gang as he had inspected the objects coming from his works after they were deposited in the large shed, with his own list in his hand; and this list, having been verified, was copied out by the inspector of the shed. We now follow him as he wends his way up to Resina and enters a large house with the sign "Archivio degli Scavi." This house contains numerous offices with clerks, and might, from its appearance, be a bank or any large business house. He enters a room where he is received by the chief of this office, to whom he hands his day-book. A large day-book marked with the section and number of his works (*e.g.* F, 6) is produced, and, according to the date, the day-book of the chief of gang is copied out, including his account of buildings, walls, frescoes, and all the list of objects found, as deposited in the shed.

This day-book is subsequently passed on to another office where the large ledgers are kept: (1) giving a summary of the whole excavation day by day; (2) giving the list of objects found in running numbers, without regard to the day. These are edited or abridged from the day-books. The lists of finds are then transmitted to another room, where separate ledgers are kept for each class of objects—houses, paintings, marble sculpture, bronzes, vases, etc.—into which the entries are again made. After the chief of gang has communicated his diary to the chief of the office in charge of the daily records, his work is done.

We must now return to the large shed where the truck-loads have been deposited, and see what happens here after the inventory of each day's finds, checked by the diary of the excavator himself, has been made. We must follow the history of these "objects" through the several stages while they are under the control of the excavators.

As soon as feasible, these objects are roughly sorted in the shed itself. On rare occasions some objects are found in such complete state of preservation, and so free from adhesion of earth and other blemishes, that they can at once (properly marked anew) be transferred to the special shed where the class to which they belong (statues, vases, inscriptions, etc.) are kept.

All the other finds are, in the first instance, removed to the "cleaning sheds." The official bringing them demands a receipt for the objects of which he gives a list, and this list is again copied out into the book kept by a clerk attached to the shed. The chemical staff had for some time been engaged in making experiments how to deal with the cleaning of various objects, so as to free them from earth, corrosions, and adhesions, and have devised an excellent system by which the objects are effectively cleaned (by jets or sprays of water or chemical solutions of varying temperature and under different pressure, etc.), without in any way damaging their surface or the colours and delicate polish applied to them originally. In doubtful cases, namely those that do not clearly come under the general processes adopted, the object is taken to the chemical laboratory (a receipt being given and record being kept of such transference), where the treatment is carefully applied by the most competent experts. We have already mentioned that our chemists had made most important discoveries concerning the treatment of bronze. These not only refer to the preservation of the *patina*, but to the restoration of shape and design. Shapeless masses of bronze, the appearance of which at first sight made all restoration of form and design seem hopeless, are



SILVER SITULA. PLATE 44.

Scene in bath in *repoussé* work.

treated by different solutions until the original shape and outline and the most delicate linear ornament and inscription reappear.[1]

Upon issuing from the "cleaning shed," the fragmentary objects are at once transferred to the "sorting shed," the same process of receipts and records being again followed in this case. Here every attempt is made to find the missing portions belonging to an incomplete object, and to group together the several parts of an object that form a whole. There are long tables in this shed, and the fragments, according to the class of objects (vases, terra-cottas, bronzes, inscriptions, etc.) to which they belong, are each given their table; while the fragments deposited are kept on shelves and are distributed according to the place where they were found and the date of their finding.

In this respect those engaged at Herculaneum are exceptionally fortunate compared with other excavators. In all sites, not thus covered by volcanic eruption, the objects are found scattered all over the ancient site, often hopelessly heterogeneous fragments massed together from different parts, often far removed from their original location. This is especially the case where buildings have been subsequently erected on the earlier site and the space has been levelled and filled in, the various remains being used to level the ground as "dry rubbish." In any case the soil has been turned over, and it can readily be imagined with what effect upon the fragmentary objects strewn about. This is well illustrated by the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens, where, after the Persian invasion and destruction of the buildings on the Acropolis, the surface was levelled by Kimon, and the ruins and refuse were utilised to fill up the hollows. It was out of this confused mass of filling — what the Germans called the *Perserschutt* — that the numerous interesting finds were made. We found similar conditions in our excavations at the Argive Heraeum, where the ground was levelled and prepared below the terrace of the burnt temple, by utilising all the remains and the mass of débris about it, to fill in the ground and the foundations, when in 423 B.C. the second temple was built. It can be imagined how this refuse, containing sculpture, vase-fragments, and terra-cotta fragments, bronzes, etc., presented a confused mass of unrelated parts. The barbarous hordes who, at various periods, swept over the ancient sites, each used what they found for their rude dwellings and fortifications and other purposes of their life. We thus come upon the several fragments of the same statue in distant parts of the site of Olympia, where, through *Verschleppung*, the so-called *Slaven-mauer* proved prolific in remains of sculpture.

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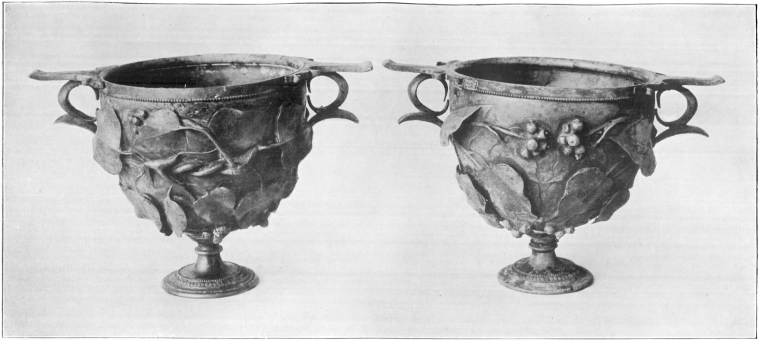
[1] It was most startling to watch the results thus attained some years ago by Mr. Bather, of the British School of Athens, in dealing with the Acropolis bronzes, and of Mr. De Cou in his careful work on our bronzes from the Argive Heraeum. Only the colour and *patina* had often suffered.

Fortunately this has not been the case at Herculaneum; and though, owing to the onward rush of the mud-stream, there are isolated cases in which objects have been transferred from their original destination, the parts of the same work, even when separated, have not been wantonly mixed up and confused by the hand of man, as is the case in all other sites. The work of piecing together in the "sorting shed" has thus been far simpler and more successful than in any previous excavations.

When the fragments forming one object have thus been grouped together, they are transferred to the "repairing shed"—the same process of recording being here observed. Here a large band of most highly skilled "restorers" are engaged in fixing together the fragments, until a complete object is presented out of them. Of course, in certain cases, some small portion may be wanting and may never be forthcoming. In no case is this supplied anew and in imitation of its antique appearance. Additions are only made where structurally they are necessary to support the object or to indicate the general shape—a support to a statue, the missing portions of a vase in white plaster, etc.

The objects which are thus completed are now transferred to the different sheds, where there is already a splendid array rich in finds of every description. The shed of marble and



TWO SILVER CUPS. FRIEZE OF IVY.

stone sculpture chiefly exhibits Roman portrait-statues and busts—these will always remain of high and peculiar artistic, as well as historical, value. In the portion of the "Casa dei Papiri," which the excavators of the eighteenth century left unexplored, we were elated to find a number of busts of philosophers—not merely of the Epicurean School—and the great treasure, a double-herm of Plato and Aristotle with inscription. Delighted as I am with this splendid find, I feel that I must not be ungrateful to Hermes Kairos for shedding his favour upon us, in an almost childish sense of partial disappointment; for Plato is here represented as an old man, and the clean-shaved, rather dandyish Aristotle as a young man. In my conception of the two great philosophers I had hitherto always imagined Plato as the younger idealistic head, the poet-philosopher; while I can never think of Aristotle as anything but an old man, at least one in full maturity of years. But a colleague has pointed out to me how this difference of age between the two philosophers confirms his view that these busts are, if not originals, at least very good copies of a Greek original dating back earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C., and that the busts were taken from life when the relative ages of the two philosophers corresponded to that shown in the portraits.

The marble sculpture shed also contains some statues of divinities, of athletes and reliefs, that illustrate the various periods of earlier Hellenic art. There are even among them two statues, one an early archaic work, the other an athlete belonging to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. Considerable difference of opinion existed among the experts whether the second statue belonged to the School of Magna Graecia (Pythagoras of Rhegion), the School of Aegina, the early School of Argos preceding Polykleitus, or even the Attic School about the time of Hegias or Kalamis. But the fortunate find of a bronze statue discovered recently, bearing the inscription Πυθαγόρας Ῥηγῖνος ἐποίησε (Pythagoras of Rhegium made it), has made it clear that the marble statue is by him, or is a copy of one of his works, and that a whole series of other statues in our European museums can now be identified as being his.

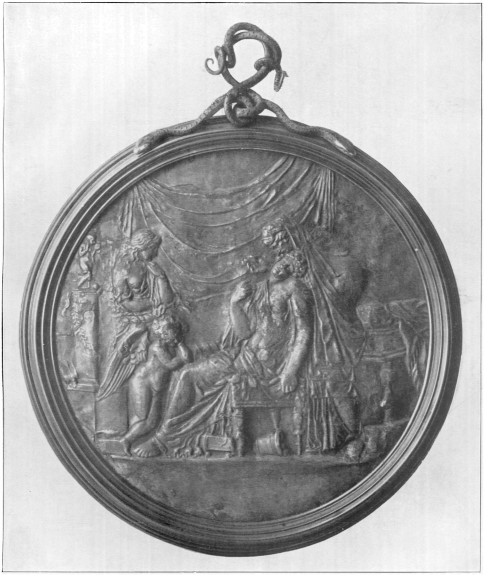
The richest and most important shed remains that containing the Bronzes. I have just mentioned one striking find recently made. It would take us too far to attempt an enumeration of these finds.

There is also a large shed containing paintings, graphiti, and those wall-paintings which cannot be left on the houses *in situ*. Another shed contains inscriptions; another is for vases and terra-cottas; and still another for works of minor arts and crafts, including cases for gems and coins.

All the objects here deposited are carefully recorded, and at once receive a running mark in a colour (differing distinctly from the previous marking) showing the shed and the number of the object, such as S (for sculpture) 3423.

All this marking, and especially the records kept at every stage, make the care of the objects as secure as possible. In fact, it is easy to fix the disappearance of any object within the narrowest limits when it can no longer be traced; and up to the present moment no object of importance has been lost. For, the moment an object is lost sight of, it is easily traced by consulting the inventories from the first shed in which the finds are deposited in their rough state, through each transfer, the receipts for its acceptance in that department being shown, to its last deposit in the special shed containing the complete objects of its class. The point at which no receipt is found shows the shed or the intervening transfer to be the region where careful search must be made, and fixes the responsibility within proper limits.

There has recently been considerable discussion within the Italian Government and in the Italian press as to the stage at which complete articles should be transferred to the permanent museums. I am happy to hear that the balance of opinion tends towards their retention in the neighbourhood of the



SILVER MIRROR CASE WITH RELIEF. PLATE 46.

? Ariadne. The rim is modern.

excavations until these shall have been completed, a most perfect *surveillance* now being organised at these temporary museums. It is also not yet decided whether they should finally be deposited at Naples, or whether the Royal Palace of Portici should be converted into a large Herculanean Museum. Those who favour the former alternative, besides maintaining that the newly discovered objects ought not to be separated from those in the Naples Museum found in previous excavations, strongly urge that the greater distance from Vesuvius in the case of Naples offers more security to these valuable collections against the danger from future eruptions.

All the fragments that could not be identified or used in forming a complete object are deposited in a large shed where they are kept till the whole excavation has been completed. They are arranged according to sections, and at any moment a search can be made through them, if such re-examination is rendered desirable in the progress of the work.

A large house in Resina has been appropriated to the papyri. Several interesting finds of these most important treasures have already been made. At this moment the whole staff is in a state of expectant excitement, because in a house in tunnel D, in which several manuscripts have already been found, they are now about to enter a room which, in all probability, appears to be a library. Each scholar is in a state of hopeful exaltation that new portions of his favourite author may be forthcoming. Like children, even the aged and most sober are building and discussing their castles in Spain. They are impatient with the heads of that section for not pushing on the work more rapidly. But the engineers and architects use every care to secure the walls of the building and proceed with the greatest thoroughness. They rightly maintain that our impatience, and the special desire of securing certain objects, ought never to lead us to slur over the actual work of excavating and endanger the security and preservation of the structure ; reminding us that in the immediate as well as the remote past, excavation has too often meant the ruthless digging or hunting for one class of object which, in our greedy estimation, we considered of supreme desirability and importance.

A long series of investigations and experiments made by our chemists on some papyri have led to most fruitful results—not only in the facility and security with which they can now be unrolled, but especially in the restoration of such portions as were formerly deemed worthless, to a state in which they can now be deciphered with ease. The process is far more advanced than the rudimentary one described by Winckelmann,[1] and hardly improved upon down to recent times. The best chemical authorities have been at work on some of the illegible fragments formerly cast away, have dissolved and analysed the papyrus, the ink, counteracted its carbonisation and the effects of moisture, and, submerging the whole roll in some compound, they not only are able to restore colour, but to soften the mass, so that it can be unrolled naturally and easily and without damage.

So far we have followed the natural history of the objects themselves. Now to return to the human workers who found them. We left the chief of gang when he took the last step in his day's work, in submitting his day-book to the proper office of the "Archivio degli Scavi," where it was copied out and its contents transferred to the different books completing the records of the work.

At the end of every week each section meets and in consultation prepares a report of the week's work and finds, which, together with the suitable and complete preliminary illustrations from the current photographs and drawings, are then published weekly in several languages. There are printing-presses and studios for the reproduction of process-blocks on the spot. These reports are signed by the heads of

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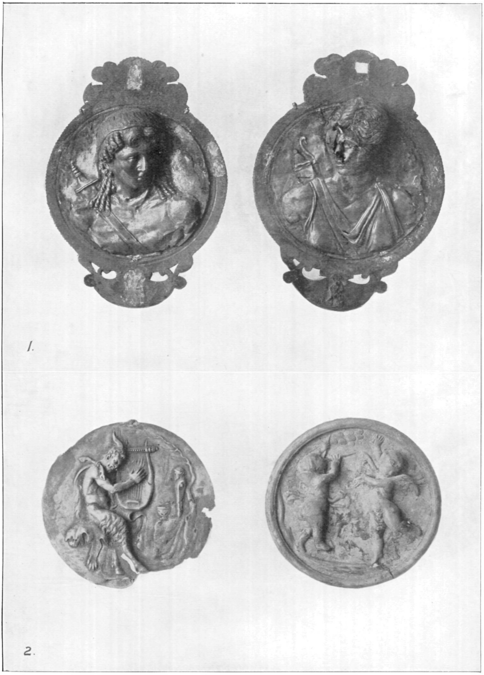
[1] Winckelmann's *Werke*, Dresden, 1808, vol. ii. p. 240.


1.

2.

FOUR SILVER MEDALLIONS. PLATE 47.

Two in high relief, two in low relief. Apollo, Artemis, Satyr with lyre, Amorini.

each section and all the assistants, no distinction being made. The general reports on the work as a whole are signed by the Chief and the Executive Committee. A great point has been made of the necessity of thus publishing rapidly with illustrations the result of the work as it proceeds, not only because this assures the maintenance of interest in the enterprise all over the world, but also because, in the interest of science itself, it favours the proper elaboration of the results without unreasonable delay.

One of the most deplorable practices of excavators has hitherto been that the most important results of their actual excavations have been withheld from students and from the public for such inordinately long periods. The mere knowledge that discoveries have been made in certain directions has prevented those working in the same direction from completing their labours ; and they have thus been kept waiting for years, while the world at large has also been deprived of the benefits which the discoveries might have bestowed. The rapid publication of such weekly bulletins obviates these difficulties and disadvantages. The Council has even considered favourably the requests of certain specialists who, apprised of particular finds through the bulletin, have come to Herculaneum to make further studies of definite objects. Such privilege is, of course, only granted in exceptional cases. So Professor Gomperz of Vienna is now at work at some papyri in the house containing them in Resina.

Some difficulty was encountered in dealing with journalists who naturally flock here in numbers. They, of course, desire to give early news concerning important finds. The attitude of the authorities towards them has been decidedly favourable. Yet every effort is made not to encourage the spread of sensational and false reports, and not to lay the staff open to the charge of partiality in the distribution of news. The Information Bureau, open at certain hours, is officially empowered to give accounts of discoveries and to distribute photographs when these have been passed by the Committee on Publication.

The final official publication of all the work is in the hands of the Italian Government, and its preparation will be spread over years. The Italian Government will invite some of the foreign scholars to take part in this final publication.

A last word on the life of those engaged in the excavations. The relation of the staff to the workmen is excellent. Discipline is maintained without difficulty. With all good fellowship, and the interest which all those who have individually to deal with the men manifest in their lives and in their welfare, the rules are carried out with justice, yet with firmness. The black sheep are at once dismissed beyond recall. This at first caused some difficulty: the traditions of personal favouritism are so deeply embedded among people who are in the early stages of self-government, that it has taken some time for them to realise the absoluteness of law and the fairness with which their superiors adhere to its requirements even against their personal interest or inclination. But they have come to put their faith in the justice, fairness, and truthfulness which are the supreme principles of the whole organisation and the leading characteristic of those in authority. There was also some difficulty owing to the intrusion of local politics. There were even traces of the activity of secret societies. Here, too, a certain humorous good-nature in wilfully ignoring the existence of such powers, as well as an undaunted fearlessness and firmness in carrying out the rules governing the work, soon convinced those who desired to divide authority that their efforts would be unavailing. Moreover, the great economic advantage to the labouring population and to the whole of the community springing from the works themselves, and the wealth brought by the masses of visitors flocking to the spot, convinced all parties that nothing but good could accrue to the whole neighbourhood, and that those responsible for the execution of the work honestly and actively had this at heart.

Among the members of the International Staff itself all has gone smoothly. The Committee on Discipline has had no work to do. A tradition, leading to the development of a code of intercourse for the regulation of the common life, has more and more established itself. It is based upon the widest amount of freedom and independence, while recognising the manifest desire to cultivate good relations and an *esprit de corps*, constantly impressed upon all the members by the common work and the common ends. Antipathies and differences of opinion are soon reconciled or rendered harmless. Strange to say, the more noticeable differences or disagreements have never arisen between members of various nationalities ; they have always occurred between members of the same nationality. It has been found that colleagues of the same nationality often manifested a want of appreciation of each other's qualities and achievements, and that in many cases, through the just appreciation of the foreign members, the scientific worth and the excellence of character of a member from one country have here for the first time impressed themselves upon their own countrymen, hitherto blind to them.

The mode of life and the arrangements for social intercourse outside of working hours have no doubt been greatly contributory in producing these good results. Besides the midday meal in common, an evening meal is also provided for all those who desire to avail themselves of it. Here, too, there are consultations and discussions concerning the work. The reading-room and club-rooms afford all varieties of games and amusements. But, occasionally, meetings are called for the more regular and formal discussion of important points concerning the work and the organisation of life, in addition to the sittings of the various committees. Twice a week there are lectures, papers are read, and a discussion follows. But the intellectual life is not confined to the archaeological interest or to any specialty relating to the work. Literature and art of all periods and countries are cultivated ; and the most favourable opportunities are afforded to each member to acquaint himself with the intellectual, artistic, and moral movements, past and present, of other nations, through the immediate contact and communion with the best representative people from those countries into which he had never penetrated, and whose life and thought had hitherto remained remote and devoid of all vividness, if not of reality.

Physical culture is also not neglected. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays all forms of sport are cultivated, and the men, released and off duty for the time, find refreshment in practising them at odd moments. Each nation has introduced its own games and sports, and most have found favour among all. The Germans, Swiss, and Swedes have chiefly developed gymnastics, for which a suitable precinct and implements have been supplied. The English have initiated their colleagues into football, cricket, and golf. The Americans have created much interest in base-ball, which threatens to supersede cricket, as it does not require so much time. Lawn-tennis was played from the outset. Spaniards have recently taught the interesting Basque game of *palota*. Fencing and even boxing are practised in the evening. But, with the clear waters of the Bay at the very door, rowing has been the most popular pastime. The regattas on holidays cause great excitement in the neighbourhood. By a correct instinct, however, the crews are never formed on national lines ; but, as far as possible, grouped by sections and gangs. This applies also to the matches in other games. The keenness of section pitted against section, and the *esprit de corps* (spreading to the workmen as well) thus elicited and confirmed, have entirely replaced national emulation.

An incident illustrative of the *genius loci* was the departure of the veteran Professor Baumann, who had been an active member of the staff from the beginning of the work. He was looked up to by all, not only for his deep learning and eminent achievements in scholarship, but also for his pure and honest character and the simplicity of his kindly demeanour. His tolerance, geniality, and, above all, his considerateness and helpfulness towards the younger and humbler members of the staff, made him the most popular and beloved figure of the community. In appearance as well as mentality he was a well-balanced combination of the type to which a Mommsen belonged, softened and mellowed by the gentleness and kindliness, the big and good lines, of Heinrich Brunn. He marks the splendid survival of the true German *Gelehrte* of old days, thorough in learning, unflinching in laborious concentration on work, and ardently, though unostentatiously, following the purest and the highest ideals. Baumann belongs to a type when *Streberthum* was as unknown a term in the German language as the frame of mind was in the lives of its scholars and men of science.

When health and duties at home called him away, it was with genuine grief that he left the work in which he was so enthusiastically concerned, and with universal sorrow that the news was received among all members of the staff.

A farewell dinner was given to him by the whole staff, present on that occasion in full numbers. The speech, which he made in response to the laudatory words of the Chief, was delivered in excellent Italian, concise in meaning and finished in form, sincere in the directness with which it conveyed the truest conviction, free from all rhetoric, so that the slight trace of German accent was entirely forgotten, and all who had the privilege of hearing it were so deeply impressed that the words will remain with them for the rest of their lives. He surveyed the whole of their work, and ventured to give a forecast of its total and ultimate results. Impressing upon his audience the specific nobleness of the task before them, he dwelt upon the supreme and inalienable claims of the search for truth among all human endeavours—truth in and for itself. "When truth is the aim, nothing is too high, nothing too low to merit our greatest and most sustained efforts in the finding of it. An ant-hill religiously studied has the same justification as the exploration of the Himalayas ; the microscope applied to the smallest organic speck may lead to the loftiest truth as much as the telescope which reveals infinite worlds of planets. But at one period and among a certain definite group of human beings one sphere of inquiry may call more loudly and with greater claims for our attention and active sympathy than another. 'Charity begins at home' applies to the life of man's intellect, to the community of science as well as to social life. For us who are essentially the inheritors of Western civilisation, the great past of the ancient classical world, of Hellenism, lies nearest to the hearthstone of our earthly abode ; and, above all other periods of history, above all other achievements of man's past, this is the one which it is our duty to restore to the life of pure knowledge and science, to make our own, and to revive the best that ever lives in its spirit. That is what we are here for. Forgive me," he continued, "if I add but one word more which may seem to lie beyond the limits of our immediate work. I am not a preacher, I am a humble worker in the cause of truth. I am neither a man of the world nor a politician ; yet, as I am old and most of you are young, let me impress upon you one great lesson I have learnt here and shall take away with me to impart it to my friends at home. It is the first lesson preached and lived by one who stands as the spiritual father of the greatest of Western religions : the love of man to man, or rather of good and noble men for each other, irrespective of race, of country, of class, but united by their admiration for what is best in life and in the world—by their ideals.

"What we have actually—not in theory or in mere words—learnt, what we have experienced, felt, lived through, until it becomes a conviction, a fundamental emotion in our conscious existence, is to appreciate and to value and to love those whom we never had the opportunity of really knowing before.

National differences—above all, national prejudices—have vanished between us, based as they were on ignorance.

"This is one of the great lessons which our common work has brought in its train, as an additional gift, perhaps the most precious which has here been bestowed upon us. I am deeply grateful for it. Let every one of us as we go home teach it to our children and our friends, and, perhaps, from this small focus there may spread a warmth and a glow all over the world which will be a blessing of peace to mankind."

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

DOCUMENTS[1] RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCHEME OF EXCAVATION,

1903 TO 1907

LETTER FROM LORD KNOLLYS, 1903

SANDRINGHAM, NORFOLK,
December 28, 1903.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—I have submitted your letter to the King, who is much interested in your proposed scheme to carry out excavations at Herculaneum.

He will not, however, be in London for some little time; independently of which, he does not think there would be any practical use in his seeing you until you are able:

1. To tell him what would be the probable cost of the excavations.
2. Whether the Italian Government would agree to their being made.

His Majesty would suggest that on both of these points you should consult with Mr. Neville Rolfe, the British Consul at Naples.

With every good wish for the New Year.—Yours very truly,

KNOLLYS.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR MERCALLI, 1904

NAPOLI, 18 *aprile* 1904.

CHIARISSIMO SIG. PROFESSORE—Lo spessore della roccia che ricopre Ercolano varia da 21 a 34 metri (Hamilton).

La roccia è *tufacea* come quella di Pompei, ma più compatta e più omogenea. Tuttavia c' è una stratificazione; poichè il Lippi potè distinguere *nove* varietà di tufi sovrapposti gli uni agli altri. Al

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[1] For all the private letters here printed permission to publish them has been obtained from the writers.

presente non si può verificare, se queste osservazioni del Lippi sono esatte, senza eseguire scavi. Ma è certo che la parte più bassa è costituita da tufa a elementi più fini (cenere), mentre la parte superiore è un *tufo granulare* gialliccio con elementi più grossi (lapillo).

Vicino agli scavi, i tufi sono ricoperti, non da per tutto ma in diversi punti, dalle lave del 1631.

Io non sono pratico di scavi archeologici; ma mi sembra che quì sarebbero possibili e non molto costosi degli *scavi in galleria.*

Se desidera altri chiarimenti ch' io posso darle, mi comandi liberamente.

Aggradisca i sensi della mia alta stima e mi creda della S.V. dev.

GIUSEPPE MERCALLI.

LETTER OF AUTHORISATION FROM THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ORLANDO, 1904

MINISTERO DELL' ISTRUZIONE, IL MINISTRO,
ROMA, 21 *aprile* 1904.

ILLUSTRE SIGNORE—Stamane ho avuto il piacere di essere informato da Lei del grandioso Suo disegno di promuovere, sotto il patrocinio di S.M. il Re d' Italia e di altri Capi di nazioni, una iniziativa mondiale per esplorare completamente Ercolano.

Da tanta impresa, se attuata, la scienza, la storia, l' arte potranno trarre vantaggi incalcolabili.

All' ardito Suo progetto io fo plauso, e faccio voti che la grandezza e la difficoltà dell' impresa non ne impediscano l' attuazione; e che questa Italia, la quale apre le sue braccia all' amplesso del mondo, possa rivedere al sole le vestigia di quell' antica città da cui uscirono opere cotanto mirabili.

Accolga, illustre Signore, le espressioni della mia particolare stima.

Il Ministro
ORLANDO.

All' Illustre Prof. Carlo Waldstein,
Grand Hotel, Rome.

FIRST NOTICE IN *THE TIMES*, 1904

PROPOSED EXCAVATION OF HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, April 23, 1904.)

ROME, *April* 22.

An archaeological undertaking of a most important character is, I learn, about to be set on foot—namely, the complete excavation of Herculaneum. It is proposed that this vast work should be carried out by the co-operation of Italy with all civilised countries, and that there

should be a central managing committee in Rome with national committees elsewhere. This scheme, which I have good reason to believe meets with the full support of the Italian Government, is one which Dr. Charles Waldstein has advocated for some time past, and upon which he and Mr. Shoobridge are now engaged in Rome.

As is generally known, Herculaneum, both from its past history and from the objects hitherto found there, gives promise of being a far richer field of excavation than Pompeii or any other ancient site. Since the first excavations of the theatre to a depth of 27 metres below the surface in the time of Charles III., 1738, only partial excavations have been made —in 1828, 1837, 1853, 1869, and 1875. But all these were upon a very small and tentative scale. Owing to the fact that the town of Resina was built over the site, and to what appeared to be the enormous natural difficulties, no excavation on a large or comprehensive scale has ever been attempted. These natural difficulties I am, however, assured by competent authorities have now been overcome, and I am also informed that there is every hope that the great cost involved owing to the magnitude of the work may be successfully met.

LETTER FROM LORD KNOLLYS, 1904

Buckingham Palace,
April 29, 1904.

Dear Professor Waldstein—I have submitted your letter to the King, who congratulates you on your success so far.

It will be a most interesting work, and I shall be happy to see you at the end of next week or at the beginning of the following one.—Yours very truly,
Knollys.

LETTER FROM THE HON. JOHN HAY, 1904

Department of State,
Washington, *May* 28, 1904.

My dear Waldstein—I have received your letter of the 17th of May, and submitted it to the President. He is naturally much interested in your plan, and authorises me to say how greatly he wishes you success in it. In case your anticipations should be realised, and the Kings of England and Italy should allow their names to be used as Honorary Chairmen, it would give him pleasure to serve in the same capacity in this country.—Yours faithfully,
John Hay.

Dr. Charles Waldstein,
King's College,
Cambridge, England.

LETTER FROM THE FRENCH MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, CHAUMIÉ, 1904

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE,
PARIS, *le* 22 *juillet* 1904.

Ministère de l'Instruction Publique
et des Beaux-Arts.

Direction de
l'Enseignement Supérieur.

5e Bureau.

Objet : Projet de constitution d'un Comité international pour l'organisation de fouilles à Herculanum.

MONSIEUR LE PROFESSEUR—Vous avez bien voulu m'entretenir de votre projet de constituer un comité international qui organiserait des fouilles à Herculanum. Ce projet me paraît tout à fait digne d'intérêt ; je suis convaincu que l'entreprise que vous poursuivez donnera des résultats scientifiques importants et que la connaissance de l'antiquité en sera éclairée d'une lumière nouvelle et plus vive. Je suis donc très heureux d'y donner ma pleine adhésion.

Agréez, Monsieur le Professeur, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,

CHAUMIÉ.

LETTER FROM LORD KNOLLYS, 1904

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
July 23, 1904.

DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—I have submitted your letter of yesterday's date to the King, and His Majesty is very glad to hear that your work is progressing favourably.

The King hopes that your visit to the various Countries you mention will be successful.—Yours very truly, KNOLLYS.

TWO LETTERS FROM THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR, PRINCE BÜLOW, 1904

NORDERNEY, *den* 13. *August* '04.

VEREHRTER HERR PROFESSOR—Ich habe meinem Kaiserlichen Herrn vorgetragen, was Sie über die von Ihnen beabsichtigten internazionalen Ausgrabungen in Herculanum mir mitzutheilen die Freundlichkeit hatten. Seine Majestät der Kaiser zeigte grosses Interesse für

Ihren Plan und sagte, von unserer Seite würde auf diese schöne Idee gern eingegangen werden: schön nicht nur, weil dort voraussichtlich grosse Schätze von historischer, archäologischer und ästhetischer Bedeutung aufgedeckt werden dürften, schön auch, weil dadurch ein Bindemittel zwischen den Kulturvölkern geschaffen würde. Ich bitte Sie also, auf unsere Mitwirkung für Ihr Unternehmen zu rechnen und sich an mich zu wenden, falls Sie auf Schwierigkeiten stossen sollten, die zu beseitigen ich Ihnen jederzeit behülflich sein werde.

Ich habe dem Kaiser ferner gemeldet, dass Sie den Wunsch hätten, Sich persönlich vorzustellen, und Seine Majestät hat mir gesagt, dass er Sie gern in Berlin empfangen wolle, wenn er anlässlich der Manöver dorthin zurückkehre; das würde in der letzten August-Woche der Fall sein. Der Kaiser erinnerte sich mit Freuden, dass Sie so freundlich für seinen Generaladjutanten von Löwenfeld gewesen, als derselbe in England war. Ich möchte Ihnen daher rathen, Herrn von Löwenfeld aufzusuchen oder Sich mit ihm in Verbindung zu setzen, da Sie von ihm am besten genau erfahren werden, wann Seine Majestät nach Berlin zurückkehrt. Jedenfalls können Sie der freundlichsten Aufnahme seitens des Kaisers sicher sein.—Mit meiner Frau und meinen besten Grüssen, Ihr aufrichtig ergebener BÜLOW.

BERLIN, *den* 13. *September* 1904.

LIEBER PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—Vielen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief, aus dem ich mit Freude ersehe, dass mein Kaiserlicher Herr, wie ich vorausgesagt, den von Ihnen geplanten Ausgrabungen in Herculanum warmes Interesse entgegengebracht hat und dass Sie angenehme Eindrücke aus Berlin mitnehmen konnten.

Was nun die Durchführung Ihres verdienstvollen Unternehmens im einzelnen, insbesondere in Deutschland betrifft, so möchte ich Ihnen anheimgeben, Sich unter Darlegung Ihrer Wünsche an den Königlich Preussischen Kultusminister in Berlin zu wenden. Exzellenz Studt ist von mir verständigt worden und wird gewiss das Seinige tun, Ihnen mit Rat und Tat behülflich zu sein.—Mit meiner Frau und meinen besten Grüssen, Ihr sehr ergebener BÜLOW.

LETTER FROM LORD KNOLLYS, 1904

BALMORAL CASTLE,
September 11, 1904.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—I have submitted your letter to the King. His Majesty desires me to say, he is very glad to hear the German Emperor has taken up so warmly the question of the

International Herculaneum scheme, and that he granted you an audience which gave you an opportunity of explaining the details to him.

The King has no doubt that the Emperor's co-operation will be particularly useful to you in America, and that it will enable you to obtain larger sums of money there than would probably have otherwise been the case.

Let me congratulate you sincerely on the success which is attending your efforts.—Yours very truly, KNOLLYS.

FIVE LETTERS FROM THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, 1904

ST. HUBERTUS, MARIENBAD,
August 24, 1904.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—Many thanks for your letter from Schloss Altenstein. I wrote a detailed report to Vienna from London before leaving, after having received your German letter, and I shall not fail to bring the extract of Count Bülow's letter to the knowledge "der massgebenden Personen." I have no doubt we shall do the same here as they do in England, Germany, and France, but you must not expect great haste or initiative in this affair on our side for the reasons I told you verbally. I shall certainly talk about this question at Vienna when I go there, and hope to bring some satisfactory news to you when I return to London at the beginning of October.

Excuse haste, I want to catch to-day's post. I shall be here for the next 10 days or fortnight.—Yours very sincerely,

ALBERT MENSDORFF.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY,
18 BELGRAVE SQUARE, S.W.,
October 30, 1904.

DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—I do not know if you are back at Cambridge, but I send you a line on the chance, to say that I have talked about your scheme to the Austrian Minister of Education, and that, besides, I have succeeded in interesting Prince Francis of Liechtenstein in the question, who has taken in hand the formation of an Austrian Committee. Several most representative people, like Count Lanskoronski and Count Wilczek, have accepted to join it, and he was writing to some of the most important savants. Besides, he has asked Count Bela Szechényi to form a Hungarian Committee.

If you are coming to London let me know, and I would give you some further information. I am going out of town to-morrow, but I shall certainly be here on Friday and Saturday. Next week I am going to Sandringham.—Yours very sincerely, ALBERT MENSDORFF.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY,
18 BELGRAVE SQUARE, S.W.,
November 2, 1904.

DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—Many thanks. I cannot stop at Cambridge, much as I should like to, as I am going to Sandringham on Monday only, and am somewhere else on Sunday. If you are in town on Saturday, do look in here between 12 and 1 o'clock.—Yours very sincerely, ALBERT MENSDORFF.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY,
18 BELGRAVE SQUARE, S.W.,
November 29, 1904.

DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—Many thanks for your letter. I have again heard from Pce. F. Liechtenstein, and, if you succeed in forming a Committee *here* and in Germany, our Committee will spring into existence at once. If you are in London at the end of the week, perhaps I might see you for a minute? I shall be here on Saturday and Sunday, and if you will let me know when you come, I shall arrange to be at home, and delighted to see you.—Yours very sincerely,
ALBERT MENSDORFF.

CULFORD HALL, BURY ST. EDMUNDS,
December 13, 1904.

DEAR PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN—I am so sorry to miss the pleasure of attending your lecture.

I have received another letter from Pce. F. Liechtenstein, in which he says he thinks you ought to send a copy of your lecture—perhaps with a few words (eine Widmung)—to Hofrath Benndorf (Wien IX., Türkenstrasse 4), as he probably would appreciate it, and he might be important for your scheme. Bon voyage et au revoir when you return from America.—Yours sincerely, ALBERT MENSDORFF.

REPORT OF LECTURE AT ROYAL ACADEMY, 1904, FROM *THE TIMES*

PROFESSOR WALDSTEIN ON HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, December 14, 1904.)

At the Royal Academy yesterday afternoon Dr. Charles Waldstein, Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, gave a lecture on "Herculaneum and the Proposed International Excavation." The chair was taken by the President (Sir E. J. Poynter). There were present Prince Eugen Fürstenberg, representing Austria; Count Bernstorff, on behalf of Germany; the Italian Ambassador; and representatives of France and other countries.

The Chairman explained how it was that the excavations of Herculaneum, begun a century ago, had so long been suspended. This cessation arose from no want of enterprise, but from the practical physical difficulties and those of expense. The obstacles to complete excavation were, however, not insuperable, and Professor Waldstein had conceived the happy idea of making the work international. Italy's co-operation had fortunately been secured. (Cheers.)

Professor Waldstein, after thanking the President and members of the Royal Academy for the start they were giving to the scheme, said that no place was so appropriate for the beginning of such an enterprise as the Academy. From Herculaneum many beautiful works might be expected. Dealing with the circumstances of the calamity, Vesuvius—as we learnt from Strabo—had lain dormant for, he said, many centuries. Thus the eruption was wholly unexpected, though in 63 A.D. there was a great earthquake. There were but sixteen years between the earthquake and the eruption. All would remember Pliny the Younger's vivid description in his letter to Tacitus. The date was August 24 in the early afternoon, and the slow growth of what seemed a small cloud into the vast mass which buried the city was graphically described in Pliny's narrative. The effect of the eruption was widely different in the case of the two cities; Herculaneum was much nearer, and the city and district were soon overwhelmed with the molten mud. But it was not the impenetrably hard lava which it was commonly supposed to be. Geologists from Guy Lussac to Professor Hughes had shown that, apart from actual contact with air, the material was perfectly friable and manageable for the excavator. The beautiful works from the city which were to be seen at Naples showed that the disaster was not destructive of the beauty of the works of art at Herculaneum. Manuscripts which could be unrolled and read, as well as glass and marble, with no trace of fire on them, gave good hope of what might be expected from thorough excavation. The catastrophe was sudden and terrible to the sufferers, but was a marvellous preservation of a provincial city's life at the moment of arrest. There were differences between the two cities. Herculaneum was distinctly Greek, whereas Pompeii was Oscan in character, and thus we had materials at hand which would not but for the disaster have survived as historical evidence of two lines of tradition. Herculaneum had been a centre of the higher intellectual life during the Roman supremacy. At Pompeii no MS. had been found, whereas in one villa at Herculaneum were found 1750. There, too, the finest works of art had already been found, whereas those of Pompeii were of far inferior value and interest. The Fabii, Balbus, Agrippina, Piso, and other great Romans had their villas in the city. The library discovered was mainly composed of treatises on the Epicurean philosophy. Its owner was evidently a specialist. It might be that another of a more general character might be disclosed : and what treasures might we not expect—the lost books of Livy, perhaps, lost treatises of Aristotle, or plays of Sophocles ? On no other spot could we expect so vivid a reproduction of an ancient city as at Herculaneum, whose treasures of the finest art were surpassed only, perhaps, by Athens itself.

The lecture was illustrated with pictures on the screen showing the excavations already made, the MSS. from Piso's villa, beautiful statues of the fifth century, and bronzes of a still earlier date. The schools of Scopas and Praxiteles of the fourth century were admirably represented. Some of the busts were marvellous specimens of portraiture. There were specimens of the Polycleitan and Lysippean type and of later periods, including a portrait of Alexander the Great and a bronze of Homer of the Alexandrian period. These specimens of what had survived of these two cities show what might be expected from thorough exploration.

Professor Waldstein then gave a short account of the various attempts made in examining the site from the middle of the seventeenth century to our own times. It had been the dream of his life that this work should be undertaken, and in his efforts he had been largely aided by Mr. Leonard Shoobridge, of Balliol. The approval of the King had been expressed ; and the King of Italy, as well as his Prime Minister, promised support. The President of the United States, the German Emperor, the President and Government of the French Republic, the Emperor of Austria,[1] and the King of Sweden encouraged the undertaking. There was already a committee in Vienna, and it was hoped to secure the co-operation of many other national committees. Mr. Neville Rolfe, our Consul at Naples, had told him that there was ample work for many years without infringement of private rights. Other nations might thus show their gratitude to Italy, for which alone the task was too heavy, and which had done and was doing so much for art in the world. (Cheers.)

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[1] The mention of the Emperor's name is an error on the part of the reporter. He was not mentioned in the lecture.

CABLEGRAM FROM MINISTER ORLANDO, ROME, TO C. W., NEW YORK, 1905

Z25 Roma 14, *Jan.* 2, 1905,
Waldstein, Waldorf, N.Y.

Provvederò con istruzioni nostro rappresentante perchè sia chiarità situazione fatti [fatta]. ORLANDO.

TELEGRAM FROM ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON, TO C. W., 1905

42 AD 36 150P,
Washington, D.C., *Jan.* 3,
Waldstein, Waldorf.

Italian Government notifies that no concrete plan was presented to it about Herculaneum excavation, that consequently it did not pledge itself, and that it preserves its complete liberty of action. Please take note of this declaration. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR.

LETTER FROM C. W. TO ITALIAN AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON, 1905

OAKWOOD, PERKINS STREET,
JAMAICA PLAIN, BOSTON, MASS.,
January 5, 1905.

YOUR EXCELLENCY—Some newspapers in New York published last Saturday, Dec. 31, a cable from Rome maintaining that an official statement had appeared there practically repudiating my action as regards the proposed international excavation of Herculaneum—in fact, stating that they knew nothing of it.

On Saturday, Jan. 1, I cabled to Sign. Orlando: "Prego vindicare mio onore pubblicamente prima de' Martedi, perchè non stia come bugiardo impostore davanti mondo."

On Monday, Jan. 2, I received the following cable message: "Provvederò con istruzioni rappresentante perchè sia chiarità situazione fatta."

You are aware of my telegram to you.

The only response to my request has been your telegram of Jan. 3 telling me to take note of your declarations about "concrete plan" (about which there never has been any question, and which does not come into the scope of my present activity).

I have received no further vindication of my honour.

But it is no longer a question of *my* honour, but of that of the

Italian Government—nay, of His Majesty the King of Italy. This I have at heart as much as the most patriotic Italian.

The facts are the following: That on April 18, 8.45 A.M., I had the honour of an audience from the King at the Quirinal in which I brought my intentions before His Majesty.

On April 19 I did the same to His Excellency the Prime Minister Giolitti, who provided me with a letter to Sign. Orlando with whom the final decision rested, the approval of H.M. and of Sign. Giolitti being given under that condition. Sign. Orlando warmly and emphatically approved of my plan, and encouraged me to carry out my intention of starting a world-initiative for the international excavation of Herculaneum, by securing the heads of States to associate themselves with national committees to co-operate with the International Committee under the King of Italy all over the civilised world.

As a pledge of his sincerity, and to protect me in case any doubt was cast upon my authority to act, Sign. Orlando provided me with a letter clearly expressing his approval and encouragement (as well as his personal appreciation of my motives) of my action. This was done on April 21. On April 22 or 23 (with the cognisance of Sign. Orlando) a telegram was published in the London *Times* stating that I had received such approval. Never since then has this been denied.

I proceeded to work for this cause in France and Germany, and secured the adhesion of the heads of these States.

In November I had a private letter from my friend Sir Rennell Rodd saying that the Italian Government were anxious to know how my work was progressing. On Dec. 13 I lectured at the Royal Academy in London, the Italian Ambassador being present, and sailed for this country on my self-imposed mission on Dec. 14.

It is *now* at this critical moment, when I am trying to interest people in America in this ideal and remote scheme, and to secure promises of material support—a difficult and delicate task—that this report of repudiation appears, casting doubt on my veracity and integrity; and the only reply to my appeal to the Italian Government is your telegram introducing the question of "concrete plans" and mentioning the "liberty of action of the Italian Government"—which nobody has ever questioned.

I never asked for any final agreement with *me*. I personally wished and desire to vanish from the scene when the nations have been interested and the committees, with whom the final agreement must be made, have been organised.

In fact, when I mentioned this intention of mine to H.M. the King of Italy, he replied that "I could not be allowed thus to vanish."

The mere mention of a doubt—not to mention a repudiation—of my action at this moment inevitably tends to counteract my efforts and to dampen all enthusiasm in the cause which has brought me to America, and to which I have devoted all the leisure and energy I could spare from a busy life.

I respectfully beg your Excellency to use all efforts to restore me to my right position in the eyes of the world, and to let me know of such decision.

I return to New York to-morrow and my address will be c/o Miss Amy Townsend, 512 Fifth Avenue, New York.

I sail for England on Wednesday, Jan. 11.

I have the honour to remain

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

Charles Waldstein.

To His Excellency
The Italian Ambassador,
Washington.

LETTER FROM THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON, TO C. W., 1905

Regia Ambasciata d' Italia,
Washington, D.C., 6 *gennaio* 1905.

Illustre Signore—Mi affretto a rispondere alla Sua lettera del 5 corr., da Boston, Mass., esprimendo Le anzi tutto il mio dispiacere di essere stato impedito dall' assistere alla Conferenza da Lei tenuta in Washington, il che mi avrebbe offerto l' occasione di fare la Sua personale conoscenza e di scambiare alcune idee relative all' oggetto della nostra presente corrispondenza telegrafica ed epistolare.

Allorchè mi giunse il Suo telegramma del 2 gennaio, non sapevo intorno all' argomento se non ciò che avevo udito, la vigilia, a lunch presso la Signora Wadsworth. Nessun telegramma mi era ancora giunto da Roma. Ne ebbi uno nella notte seguente, in cifra, e per errori di trasmissione, di piuttosto difficile intelligenza. Mi si diceva in sostanza che "i giornali (d' Europa) riferivano la propaganda che Ella stava facendo per promuovere un movimento internazionale a riguardo di scavi da praticarsi a Ercolano, aggiungendo che il Presidente Roosevelt aveva accettato la Presidenza del Comitato Internazionale." Ciò, da quanto a me pare, lasciava supporre un "intesa più" inoltrata che non sia quella per avventura intervenuta, e inoltre un traviamento del pensiero del Governo, che poteva sfavorevolmente impressionare l' opinione pubblica in Italia. Poichè, è sempre impressione mia, non si capirebbe un Comitato Internazionale, allo scopo suddetto, sotto altra presidenza che quella di S. M. il RE. E difatti il telegramma proseguiva narrando che Ella aveva, nell' aprile, esposto al Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione le sue intenzioni circa la costituzione di un Comitato che dal RE d' Italia, appunto, sarebbe stato presieduto ; che il Ministro Orlando aveva approvato in massima la geniale idea ; ma che nessun piano concreto gli era stato mai presentato ; cosicchè il Governo Italiano non aveva avuto ad impegnare menomamente la sua libertà di azione, che esso riservava intera per tutto ciò che riguarda il campo di esecuzione e l' esercizio dei suoi diritti. Quest' ultima parte essendo quella che più importava, Le fu da me subito telegrafata al Waldorf.

Mi è annunciato un dispaccio, ma temo che non mi giunga prima della Sua partenza. Ad ogni modo, credo personalmente che non vi sia, in fondo, se non che un malinteso provocato da erronee notizie di giornali e che Le riescirà agevole di chiarire quando Ella torni in Europa.

Gradisca, Egregio Signor Professore, gli atti della mia ben distinta considerazione.

Il Regio Ambasciatore,
MAYOR.

Prof. Charles Waldstein, New York.

TELEGRAM FROM ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON, TO C. W., 1905

31 Ts ne. 225 p.m. 13.
Washington, D.C., *Jan.* 8.
Prof. Charles Waldstein, No. 512 Fifth Ave., N.Y.

Thanks for explanation ; before publishing anything please wait a further telegram of mine. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR.

LETTER FROM SIR EDWARD POYNTER TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, January 3, 1905.)

SIR—I notice that in a paragraph in your issue of this morning, referring to Professor Waldstein's scheme for an international committee to organise the renewal of excavations at Herculaneum, you quote a telegram from Rome which declares that " the Italian Government has not been able to support the proposal, *as has been asserted* (the italics are mine), owing to its being as yet unacquainted with the details of the scheme, etc." At the end of the short introductory address which I gave to Professor Waldstein's lecture at the Royal Academy on the 13th inst. I said :—

I should add that I have assurances from Italy that the Italian Government is deeply interested in this matter; without the consent and absolute approval of Italy it would be an impertinence for foreign nations to step in, even in a matter of such world-wide interest as this.

It is obvious that, until a scheme is definitely put into shape, the Italian Government must reserve to itself the most complete liberty on all points connected with it; but as regards the general idea I was careful, before inviting Professor Waldstein, on the part of the Academy, to give his lecture in our galleries, to ascertain that such a scheme was not considered an intrusion by the Italian Government; and I have the distinct assurance in a letter from Rome that "une lettre d'approbation" (dated April 21, 1904) was sent, by a person with authority to speak, to Professor Waldstein, "dont il avait reçu l'explication de son projet à l'égard des fouilles d'Herculaneum." Without such an expression of approval I should not have ventured to express myself even in such general terms as I used.

The term used by your correspondent—"an international committee to supervise Professor Waldstein's excavations at Herculaneum"—is somewhat misleading. Professor Waldstein, as I understand him, confines himself to rousing a general interest in this most interesting subject, and to making the further exploration of this ancient city an international enterprise. I have always understood that, if the scheme were brought to a successful issue, Italy would, as a matter of course, take the leading place in whatever work of excavation is carried on; the splendid results achieved by her eminent archaeologists at Rome, at Pompeii, and everywhere in Italy alone entitle her to such a position, to say nothing of its being on her own soil that the operations must be undertaken. The international committee, I take it, is for the purpose of furthering the work and helping to make it practicable; and to speak of "Professor Waldstein's excavations," except in the general sense of his being the originator of the scheme, is to convey a wrong impression of his object.

As the audience at Professor Waldstein's lecture was limited, and there are probably many who did not see the report, necessarily considerably curtailed, which appeared in your columns, perhaps you will allow me to repeat part of what I said at the Royal Academy on that occasion, which is after all but a very brief summary of what Professor Waldstein developed at length in his lecture:—

It may be a matter for surprise that the excavation of the city of Herculaneum, which led to such wonderful discoveries of antique art more than a century ago, should for so many years have been suspended. The general explanation with those who have no intimate knowledge of the facts is that Herculaneum was overwhelmed by a stream of lava, a material too intractable to deal with.

The cessation of a work which had such splendid results arose, we may be sure, from no want of enterprise on the part of those engaged in the exploration of the buried cities of the Bay of Naples, but rather from the practical difficulties to be encountered in pursuing the work of investigation. These difficulties, however, are not insurmountable; they resolve themselves rather into a question of expense.

The excavations at Pompeii have gone on with few interruptions since they were first started in 1775; the problem there was a comparatively simple one; the town was buried under an accumulation of fine ash from the volcano which did not completely cover the roofs of all the buildings, and the soil to this day is still quite loose and friable and easy of removal.

Herculaneum, on the other hand, was overwhelmed in a sea of mud mixed with falling ashes and lapilli to the depth of 80 or more feet. This mud has hardened under pressure in the course of centuries to a tufa rock, solid no doubt, but not presenting the impossibilities of lava; the labour and cost of clearing it away, however, is so great that the thought of opening the remains to the light of day was always considered out of the question, and tunnelling under the rock was the only method resorted to, to reach the buried buildings. A more serious difficulty still is the existence of the modern towns of Portici and Resina, situated immediately over the ancient city, so that a renewed attempt at excavation about the year 1865 proved so dangerous that it had to be abandoned. Since that time no further efforts have, I believe, been made to discover the treasures which presumably are buried underneath.

Since but a small portion of the town was explored during the forty years that the excavations were carried on in the eighteenth century, and that far the largest proportion of the splendid examples of Greek art in the Naples Museum were found at Herculaneum, there can be little doubt that treasures of untold beauty still remain to be discovered; for it would be by a sort of miracle that the first houses and villa excavated should be the only ones that contain anything of value.

Professor Waldstein, then, has conceived the happy idea of making the further exploration of this ancient city an international enterprise; he will explain to you that he has met with unexpected success in his appeals to foreign countries, but his wish has always been that the scheme should take its origin and definite shape in England.

Under these circumstances it appeared to me that, the interest in these discoveries being above all of an artistic nature and not merely a matter of archaeology, the Royal Academy of Arts was the proper place from which it should take its inception, and it is on these grounds that we have issued the invitations to hear Professor Waldstein lecture on this most interesting subject.

Then comes the passage quoted above referring to the interest which the Italian Government has shown in the project, and I conclude thus :—

The scheme will be a very costly one, involving the collection of a very large sum to start with, but Professor Waldstein is sanguine of being able to raise the money for the realisation of his magnificent idea.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD J. POYNTER.

Royal Academy of Arts, London, W.,
December 29.

LETTER BY ——— TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, January 7, 1905.)

SIR—Sir Edward Poynter's letter in the *Times* of this morning is reassuring to those who are anxious that the scheme for the excavation of

Herculaneum should not assume too definite a shape so long as the official sanction of the Italian Government is withheld. Any one with experience of these matters knows that this would mean the ruin of the scheme. Since frequent reference has been made to an "international committee" of supervision, it would be of interest to the general public to learn something of the composition of this body. So far, the President of the Royal Academy and the Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge have represented what is presumably the policy of the artistic section of the community. It now appears desirable to obtain the opinion of experts on the feasibility of the excavation. Since the scheme has an international character, an advisory committee, composed of such distinguished men as Homolle, Doerpfeld, our own English excavators Arthur Evans and D. G. Hogarth, and those "eminent" Italian archaeologists whom the President of the Academy justly praises, readily suggests itself. Then it would be due to Italy and to his merits as excavator of the Roman Forum to invite Commendatore Boni to preside over such a committee. In other words, the promoters and well-wishers of the scheme should shift, as soon as possible, the centre of their activity from England to Rome.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ARCHAEOLOGIST.

January 3.

LETTER TO *THE TIMES* BY "EXCAVATOR," 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, January 10, 1905.)

SIR—The letter signed "Archaeologist," in your issue of to-day, omits one name which should not be omitted from any committee concerned with a practical question of excavation—that of Professor Flinders Petrie. There is the more reason for his inclusion, because he has had for many years an original and promising scheme of his own for recovering the treasures of Herculaneum.

I fully agree with your correspondent that, in this matter, we have heard hitherto too little about those responsible for the administration of antiquities in Italy. Commendatore Boni is the person who really matters. If he has not time and energy to give to Dr. Waldstein's large scheme at present (and with the Forum and many other excavations on his hands, I doubt it), no working committee of experts, and, with all due respect, no ornamental committee of crowned heads and presidents, will bring it to pass.—I am, etc.,

EXCAVATOR.

January 7.

LETTER FROM THE HON. REGINALD LISTER, ROME, 1905

BRITISH EMBASSY, ROME,
January 13, 1905.

DEAR WALDSTEIN—As you may have seen, various hostile articles have recently appeared in the Italian press with regard to your scheme for the excavation of Herculaneum. I have consequently thought it advisable to approach the Ministry of Public Instruction and find out exactly "où les choses en étaient."

I saw Pinchia, the Under Secretary of State. He told me that, speaking as a private individual, he was absolutely opposed to the view expressed in these articles, and that he thought that Italians ought to be proud of a scheme in which the great nations of the world, under the auspices of their respective Sovereigns and Presidents, combined to re-establish the past glories of their fatherland.

From the point of view of a Government official, he could only say that in principle the Government were quite favourable to the scheme, but that they maintained complete liberty of action, and could express no opinion until some definite scheme had been submitted to them.

I would therefore suggest that you should draw up and send to me a clear statement of the scheme which you propose, and of the present situation with regard to it. I will then forward it to the Ministry of Public Instruction, and we shall in course of time receive their reply and know exactly where we are.

I expect Egerton in the course of next week.—Yours sincerely,

REGINALD LISTER.

C. Waldstein, Esq., M.A.,
King's College, Cambridge.

LETTER OF C. W. TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, LONDON, 1905

LONDON, *January* 20, 1905.

YOUR EXCELLENCY—In my Lecture at the Royal Academy on December 13, which you did me the honour to attend, you may remember that I made the following statements with regard to the scope of the great scientific and *international* enterprise in which I wished to arouse interest over the world. These facts I put with even greater precision in all my public and private statements in America and in other countries.

I emphatically stated that I did not advocate, and decidedly should not approve of, any *foreign* excavation on Italian soil. I even went out of my way to justify the attitude hitherto held by the Italian authorities and people opposing such foreign excavations, and reminded the audience how they would like to see any of their national remains excavated by foreigners. Italy, I maintained, was eminently able to carry out its archaeological work as regards the quality of Italian archaeologists, excavators, and the officials presiding over such work. I mentioned by name and warmly praised the work done by such men as Boni, Lanciani, Orsi, Halbherr, Pigorini, Milani, etc., who worthily maintained the great traditions of Fiorelli, De Petra, Ruggiero, Comparetti. These men all worked under the able authority of Fiorili. I recognised fully the good work that has been done in the past concerning Herculaneum by the Italians.

Nor did I in any way put the case in the form that Italy was to be helped by the financial support of foreign nations because it was unable to do the work at Herculaneum. You may remember in what warm and appreciative terms I referred to the great work which Italy has been doing and is doing in archaeological research, and the great drain it was on its resources. I referred to the excavations on the Forum, in Sicily and in other parts of Italy, that constantly make the greatest demands upon the Budget of the Italian Government; that Italy thus did more than any other country in support of such higher scientific work; and that absolutely, as well as relatively, the appropriations made by the Italian Government for such purposes put to shame the British Government in this respect.

But I maintained that Italy could not be expected to carry out, on the enormous scale which it required, with stupendous financial sacrifice, the complete excavation of Herculaneum. I took pains to say that no *one* nation could do this by itself, and that therefore the whole civilised world ought to co-operate with Italy in carrying out this "world enterprise."

In no sense was any foreign society to do this. But in every civilised country *National* Committees were to be formed, presided over by the Heads of State, which should thus be the means of co-operating with Italy. Their function was to be to arouse the *national* interest of each country in this great *international* enterprise, to collect funds, and to be ready to communicate with and to assist the *International* Committee at Rome in carrying out the work. The supreme authority was to rest in the *International* Committee in Italy, presided over by the King of Italy. I stated, and I emphatically repeat my statement, that I had received the consent of the highest Italian authorities, including the responsible heads of the Government, to carry on this "*world initiative*," and that I had since obtained the complete adhesion of the President of France and his

Government and of the German Emperor and his Government, to put themselves at the head of their respective *National* Committees. I mentioned the news which had just been conveyed to me by the Austrian Ambassador that a strong *National* Committee was being formed in that country, and that the King of Sweden had likewise conveyed his adhesion; and I ended by saying that I was sailing for America the next day to secure the same *national* support in America. I may now add that I have since succeeded in inducing President Roosevelt to become the head of the American *National* Committee.

I must also remind you that I clearly stated here (and I have since repeated this statement with emphatic clearness in all I said in my utterances in the United States) that this enterprise was in no way to be an exploitation of Italian treasures by foreigners, that I would in no way be party to an excavation which did not mean that the treasures found were to be deposited in the region itself.

Though all this concerned the actual excavation and the world-wide interest which it deserves, you may remember that at the end of my lecture I laid equal stress upon the *international* aspect of the scheme: that for the first time in the world's history all the civilised nations should be united in a great and disinterested scientific enterprise, brought together on the soil of Italy to assert the unity of their common civilisation. I even appealed to the imagination of the audience to realise the picture of archaeologists, historians, artists, and men of science working together in harmony with their Italian *confrères* on the ancient soil of Herculaneum, with, possibly, weekly bulletins issued in several languages keeping the interest of the whole world alive in this common *international* work; that this would mark an epoch in the history of civilisation, and was a *de facto* confirmation of the bond uniting the civilised nations, as the peace conferences and treaties of arbitration were *de jure*. I claimed for this aspect the same importance as I did for the actual scientific and artistic work.

Now I claim that for these statements I had the complete authority and support—nay, the positive encouragement—of the Italian Government. No further "concrete plans" were mentioned or were ever suggested by me; for it stands to reason that, before the universal interest was aroused and the different Committees formed, I as an individual had no power or authority to propose or to promote such plans. The adoption of the fixed purpose to carry out the *international* excavation of Herculaneum under the autonomy and the laws of Italy was the object I had before me, for which I had the full authority of the Italian Government. This adoption I have already succeeded in obtaining to a considerable extent. To this task I have devoted all the energies I could spare from my regular duties. With this my task ends. But it may interest you to know what idea I have for the actual future working of such a scheme.

1. The Department of Antiquities in the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction should carefully guard the work and be responsible for the safe keeping of the finds.

2. I conceive the *International* Committee (for there is also to be an Italian *National* Committee collecting funds among the wealthier Italians) to be constituted something like this : His Majesty the King of Italy to be the honorary Head, appointing whomsoever he pleases as the acting President ; three further *ex-officio* members, namely the Minister of Public Instruction, the Head of Antiquities (Fiorili), and the Sindaco of Naples ; one representative from every one of the contributing nations. The I. C. is to have its sittings at Rome. It is to be the trustee of the funds contributed from all quarters. It is to confer with the *National* Committees as to desirable foreign members to be put on the staff working at Herculaneum. It is to appoint this *international* staff. The actual head of the working staff is either to be a leading Italian excavator, or—in case it should produce a more cordial feeling among the staff—he might be elected for a definite period by the staff itself among its own members. As far as possible the large numbers of workmen employed are to be taken from Resina and the neighbourhood of Naples. All objects found are to be marked in running numbers and careful inventories kept, etc., etc. For all questions of detail in working, the *International* Committee is to be the chief authority.

If this were objected to, I, personally, should not object to the plan of the Italian Government appointing the members of the *international* staff to work at Herculaneum.

This is all I have to say for the present, but I am of course ready to answer any further questions put to me.—I remain, your Excellency's obedient servant, CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

C. W.'S FIRST LETTER TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

THE PROPOSED EXCAVATION OF HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, Monday, January 23, 1905.)

SIR—I have just returned from the United States and find that, while there and at sea, a number of misunderstandings have crept into the Press in England and abroad concerning the nature and purport of the scheme for the international excavation of Herculaneum and my own action in this matter. It is imperative for me to dissipate immediately and completely these misconceptions. I feel sure that all those who were present at my lectures at the Royal Academy and in the United States, or are acquainted with my public and private statements at first hand, could not have formed such erroneous ideas.

Let me at once state that all I have said and done hitherto has been with the cognisance of the Italian Government, and that I have in no way exceeded the authority given me. For this I have documentary evidence. Nothing will make me believe that the Italian Government is not convinced of this ; and the explanations which the Italian Ambassador here has had the kindness to make to me yesterday have confirmed me in this conviction.

The first misunderstanding I wish to dispel once and for all concerns my own personal relation to the scheme. I regret to be forced to do this in a cause in which all personality—mine above all—is to be entirely submerged. Immediately upon my return from Italy last spring I desired to form a British committee which would have taken authority and responsibility out of my hands. But practical difficulties made this impossible at that stage. I am sincerely grateful to Sir Edward Poynter for having made clear, in his letter which appeared in the *Times* during my absence, that the future excavations are in no sense to be called my excavations. Nor is any national committee to supervise these excavations, but an International Committee at Rome, presided over by the King of Italy. Allow me as briefly, yet as unequivocally, as possible to trace the history of the present enterprise so far as I am concerned in it.

To see Herculaneum excavated has been the dream of my life. In this I have in no way been original. As I stated in my lecture, it has been before warmly and effectively urged by Fiorelli, Ruggiero, De Petra, Comparetti, and most eloquently pleaded for by Beulé, Gaston Boissier, S. Reinach, Mau, and others. In fact, I doubt whether there is any archaeologist living who has not longed to see this great task consummated. Moreover, it has been proved to be untrue that Herculaneum is covered by impenetrable lava, and that this stands in the way of its excavation. The real reason is the presence of Resina above the ancient site, so that the stupendous nature of the enterprise would place it beyond the reach of any one nation, even of Italy, which, as I showed, has done and is doing so much more than its share, and than any other nation, in the cause of archaeology and of culture. I mentioned the excavations of the Forum, so ably carried on by my old friend and colleague Commendatore Boni ; those in Sicily by Orsi ; many others all over Italy. Even in Crete, Professor Halbherr and his competent colleagues have done monumental work. Compare the appropriations made by the Italian Government for archaeological, scientific, and artistic work with those of our own Budget, and our admiration of the Italian sense of intellectuality as a factor of national life may not exclude a sense of shame as regards our own national attitude in such matters. I expressed full sympathy with Italian *amour propre* which urged them to excavate themselves their own national antiquities, and I urged upon my audience to consider what our feelings would be if we saw foreigners excavate our national monuments in our own country. It is certainly not for lack of competent excavators, archaeologists, and scholars that Italy will be unable to excavate Herculaneum. Besides those mentioned above I may cite, among others, Lanciani, Milani, Pigorini, Comparetti, Conti, and Barnabei.

It is now many years ago that I became convinced that the only way Herculaneum could be restored to light was by a great international excavation in which all civilised nations joined Italy in carrying out the work. Now there are two elements, one as essential as the other, in this plan : the restitution of the ancient remains under Resina, and the international character of the work. I could not and cannot say which of these two elements appeals to me most—the archaeological discovery, or the unity of civilised nations at work on a common cause. This latter object appeals to me—and I believe to many other people—as much as does the archaeological, artistic, and scientific aspect. To do this effectually the whole nation in every country has to be interested and stirred. It would not suffice to move only the scientific and learned elements in each community. I felt that, apart from practical difficulties inherent in the working of specialist bodies and individuals, their action would not attain this object ; it might produce a scientific movement, but not a national movement leading to international action. All my thought and experience in the past had taught me that such a movement could only be initiated by the devoted work of one man of average intelligence, but more than average love of the cause and power of self-effacement, who had time and energy to take the matter up and would travel over the world to arouse interest and secure support. The first task was to secure the whole-hearted consent of Italy. Then, after arousing interest in the several countries, to form national committees in each, representative of each nation, to co-operate with the International Committee sitting in Italy. I further felt that, to make it truly national and international, it was important to eliminate differences of specialist opinion and personal equation, especially in the early stages of the organisation. For we specialists do not always dwell in mind on the heights of our spiritual vocation, where personal feelings and interests have no place or power. When they are admitted they have often turned awry the current of enterprises of great pith and moment at the very fountain-head of its inception.

It therefore seemed advisable that the heads of State should place themselves at the head of each national body, and that the head of Italy should preside over the International Committee. All classes of the community were to be represented, not merely archaeologists and artists.

Needless to say, the specialists immediately concerned in such work were to be essential to the committees. The help of such men as my colleagues and friends Dr. Doerpfeld and M. Homolle (mentioned by one of your correspondents) was to be solicited. M. Homolle, moreover, has been one of my most active and enthusiastic supporters in France. As regards the English committee, it seems to me that my Oxford colleagues mentioned by your correspondent, Messrs. Arthur Evans and Hogarth, as well as other archaeologists and scholars not mentioned, would naturally be called to serve. Even the versatile Egyptologist, Professor Flinders Petrie—whose work as an excavator I have always placed in the first rank—ought to co-operate in such work on a classical site. Art, archaeology (Greek, Roman, and prehistoric), science, engineering, would naturally all be represented and called into co-operation. In my scheme the function of the national committees would be to arouse interest among the community, to raise funds, and to assist the International Committee in choosing the working staff. The International Committee, presided over by the Italian head of State, I conceive of as containing several Italian members *ex officio*, such as the Minister of Public Instruction, together with the Chief of Museums and Antiquities (now Signor Fiorili) and the Sindaco of Naples. On it are to sit one representative from each nation residing in Italy. This International Committee is to be trustee of the international fund, to appoint the international staff, to communicate regarding this and other practical questions with the national committees, and to be generally the highest authority in the whole undertaking. Of course the work would be carried on under the laws prevailing in Italy, and the Italian authorities would be finally responsible for the safe keeping of the objects and monuments discovered. The international staff would be composed of selected masters and students in such work from the several countries to co-operate with their Italian colleagues on the spot, to which the eyes of the whole civilised world would be attracted, the interest possibly intensified by weekly bulletins issued in several languages, etc. This was the idea which formed itself in my mind many years ago, and which I often communicated to friends. But it seemed impossible for me—with my regular duties and variety of occupations—ever to take up the work myself. It was owing to the encouragement and help of my friend Mr. Leonard Shoobridge (formerly of Balliol College, Oxford) that I decided, now more than a year ago, to take up the work. He offered to supply that part of work which I was unable to do, and brought the whole enterprise within the range of feasibility. Last spring we travelled together to Resina, where, on the spot, we were confirmed in what greater authorities than ourselves in such matters had amply proved before concerning the nature of the material covering Herculaneum. In all our work there we were generously seconded by the British Consul, Mr. E. Neville Rolfe.

At Rome my plan was laid before His Majesty the King of Italy ; the Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti; and Signor Orlando, Minister of Public Instruction. I then received authority to proceed in my efforts to start such a "world initiative" (as it was called), and this authority, as I have already said, I have in writing. On April 22 or 23 your Correspondent at Rome sent you a telegram announcing this news. Of course no treaty or convention concerning the details of working was asked for by me. I had, on my part, no power or ability to guarantee success ; nor could it be offered to me. But the written approval of my main plan was given to me. Your readers are aware that I proceeded to France in July and there gained the adhesion of President Loubet and the written approval of M. Chaumié (Minister of Public Instruction) ; while in August and September I succeeded in gaining the support of the German Emperor and the written encouragement from Count Bülow. I have now had the same success with President Roosevelt, Mr. Hay, and influential citizens of the United States ; and we are ready to organise our committee here, as they are in Austria, Sweden, and prospectively in other countries.

Should the Italian nation object to such international work and excavate Herculaneum themselves, I shall not regret the efforts I have made for the wider plan. Herculaneum will be restored to light, which is the most important matter. But at the same time I shall regret that Italy does not also seize this opportunity of making itself the centre for a great work in which all civilised nations will unite in harmony on the very soil upon which the essence of their common civilisation rests. This would be the type for other similar enterprises in science and art, and would confirm *de facto* what the peace conferences and the treaties of arbitration are establishing *de jure*. One thing remains certain ; that without the cordial and unqualified assent, nay, the positive encouragement, of the Italian Government, the Italian people, and my Italian *confrères*, the work on which I am engaged cannot proceed. But I have reason to hold that I have such support, and that this will soon be made unquestionably manifest to the world.—Your obedient servant,

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

The Athenaeum Club,
January 21.

LETTER TO *THE TIMES* FROM MR. H. STUART JONES, 1905

SIR—Professor Waldstein's proposal to form an International Committee for the prosecution of excavations at Herculaneum has provoked an animated discussion in the European and more especially in the Italian Press; and the fact that several writers have called upon the Italian Government to prevent excavation under foreign superintendence from taking place on Italian soil seems to show that even in Italy widespread ignorance prevails as to the state of the law on this subject.

Article 14 of the law of June 12, 1902, contains the following paragraph:—

> Foreign institutions or subjects who with the consent of the Government, and under conditions to be determined according to the circumstances of the case, undertake archaeological excavations shall be obliged to hand over the objects discovered without payment to one of the public collections of the kingdom [of Italy]. In all other cases the Government shall have the right to the fourth part of the objects discovered or to their equivalent in money.

On July 17, 1904, there was issued a body of regulations for carrying into effect the provisions of the law above mentioned. These regulations comprise a section headed, "Of excavations undertaken by foreign institutions or subjects." This section contains four articles. The first prescribes the method of application to the Ministry of Public Instruction for a licence to excavate; the second empowers the Minister, after consultation with the local authorities, to grant the application and to make such regulations as may be necessary for the supervision and inspection of the work; the third provides that all objects discovered shall be handed over to a public museum chosen by the Minister; and the last subjects such excavations to the general provisions of the law.

It cannot, therefore, be asserted with truth that excavation by foreigners is forbidden by Italian law; on the contrary, by the Acts of legislation above cited, the Italian Government recognises, if it does not invite, such researches. It is, I venture to think, important that these facts should be clearly understood.—Yours faithfully,

H. Stuart Jones,
Director of the British School at Rome.

British School of Archaeology,
Palazzo Odescalchi, *January* 17.

REPORT OF DISCUSSION IN THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT, 1905

La Parola del Governo per gli Scavi di Ercolano

(*Corriere della Sera*, Milan, February 1, 1905.)

Segue un' interrogazione dell' on. Santini per essere il Ministero della guerra ricorso in Cassazione contro la sentenza della Corte d' appello di Roma circa il fondo d' associazione vestiario fra gli ufficiali dell' esercito.

Spingardi, sottosegretario per la guerra, risponde che i criteri giuridici

ed amministrativi consigliarono l' appello giacchè un' amministrazione dello Stato non può lasciar mutare la devoluzione di un fondo cospicuo se non vi è indotto da una sentenza di ultimo grado.

Dopo un' interrogazione a proposito di sfoggi di forza pubblica che sarebbero avvenuti nei collegi di Lendinara e di Colle Val d' Elsa nelle elezioni suppletive dell' 8 gennaio, si passa ad altra diretta al ministro dell' istruzione circa le voci che un Comitato straniero raccoglierebbe dei fondi per gli scavi di Ercolano.

ORLANDO, ministro dell'istruzione.—Nell'aprile dello scorso anno mi fu presentato il prof. Waldstein il quale nella conversazione avuta con me, pone in rilievo l' importanza immensa, tanto dal lato archeologico che dal lato artistico, di una ripresa delle esplorazioni archeologiche e manifestò il suo intendimento di fare una propaganda di divulgazione mondiale in favore di tale impresa, costituendo un Comitato d' onore composto dei capi di Stato del mondo civile sotto la presidenza del Re d' Italia, questo progetto mi apparve animato solamente da puro entusiasmo artistico e tale da essere quello mercè questa collaborazione spirituale che si forma spontaneamente intorno a ciò che è patrimonio comune della scienza internazionale. Così, pur non celando anche in via puramente accademica, le gravi difficoltà dell' attuazione, manifestai il mio sentimento di plauso per una iniziativa che nel campo spirituale rendeva un nuovo omaggio alle nostre glorie artistiche e storiche. Questi sensi espressi anche in una lettera diretta al prof. Waldstein il 21 aprile 1904.

Dopo questa conversazione non ebbi più alcun rapporto nè diretto nè indiretto col prof. Waldstein sino alla recente polemica. Posso quindi affermare che al di fuori di quella manifestazione nessun progetto concreto di esecuzione fu presentato al Governo italiano e tanto meno approvato. Il Governo non solo ammette, ma si compiace del tributo di amore e di piacere che la scienza internazionale apporta allo studio del nostro glorioso passato della storia e delle arti ; però nel tempo stesso il Governo non può, nè intende limitare i suoi diritti di impero onde sono regolati gli scavi archeologici in Italia, cosicchè questi scavi non potranno essere fatti che secondo le leggi italiane, sotto la vigilanza delle autorità italiane e secondo un potere discrezionale e sovrano che non consente cessioni o limitazioni senza lesioni della nostra dignità nazionale.

TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE

REPLY OF SIGNOR ORLANDO TO QUESTION IN THE CHAMBER, January 31, 1905

In April of last year Prof. Waldstein was presented to me, and in the conversation which ensued he emphasised the immense importance that a resumption of the excavations would have both for archaeology and

for art, and put forward his proposal to carry out a propaganda of publication through the world generally in order to arouse interest in this undertaking, the aim being to constitute an honorary committee of the heads of civilised States under the presidency of the King of Italy. This project seemed to me animated solely by unalloyed artistic enthusiasm, and to be such as it was thanks to the intellectual collaboration which forms spontaneously round that which is the common patrimony of international science. So, while not concealing, on purely academic lines also, the serious difficulties which might attend actualisation, I made clear my feeling of approbation for an initiative which in the field of intellect paid a new homage to the glories of our art and history. These sentiments I expressed also in a letter addressed to Prof. Waldstein on the 21st of April 1904. Subsequently to this conversation I have not had any communication direct or indirect with Prof. Waldstein up to the time of the recent discussion. I am able, therefore, to declare that, apart from the proposition mentioned, no concrete project of carrying out this work has been presented to the Italian Government, much less sanctioned by its approval. Not only does the Government admit, but feels gratification in this tribute of regard and pleasure which international science brings to the study of our glorious past in history and the arts ; but at the same time it is not able nor does it propose to limit its rights of supreme control under which archaeological excavations are regulated in Italy. So that these particular excavations will only be able to be carried out under the laws of Italy, under the observation of Italian authorities, and in harmony with the existence of a discretional and sovereign power which could not allow concessions or limitations without implying an infringement of our national dignity.

C. W.'S LETTER TO THE *GIORNALE D' ITALIA*, 1905

IL PROF. C. WALDSTEIN AL *GIORNALE D' ITALIA* PER GLI SCAVI DI ERCOLANO

(*Giornale d' Italia*, 14 febbraio 1905.)

Il prof. Carlo Waldstein dell' Università, dopo aver seguito nel *Giornale d' Italia* la polemica e le varie opinioni da noi riferite intorno ai proposti scavi di Ercolano e alle questioni attinenti ci manda da Cambridge la seguente lettera :—

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
11 *febbraio* 1905.

EGREGIO SIGNOR DIRETTORE—In questi ultimi giorni ho letto quanto è stato pubblicato dal suo giornale intorno alla questione degli scavi di Ercolano. Vedo con rammarico che le critiche dei miei disegni e delle mie

azioni fino a questo momento sono fondate tutte su malintesi. Mi pare che voglia combattersi un nemico che non esiste. Questi malintesi furono moltiplicati ed accentuati dopo le lettere dei signori Stuart Jones e Norton, nelle quali si considerano punti che non hanno nulla a che vedere con il mio progetto ercolanense. Infatti gli archeologi italiani scrivendo contro quei propositi, credono scrivere contro di me.

Già il mio allievo Norton parla del carattere vago del mio disegno ; il che significa che non gli è nota la vera natura dei miei piani. Il mio disegno è chiaro, concreto e pratico. Mi pare sia l' ora, benchè tardiva, che questo mio disegno sia chiaramente esposto al pubblico italiano dalla persona che ne ha la più diretta informazione in modo che sia posto fine ai malintesi.

Voglio quindi dichiarare, senza riserva alcuna i seguenti punti :

(*a*) che a straniero alcuno, sia individuo, scuola o nazione, spetti far fare gli scavi di Ercolano. Non sono però sicuro se le leggi esistenti siano sufficienti per un disegno eccezionale, come è quello per Ercolano o se si debba proporre una legge speciale ;

(*b*) che nessun oggetto trovato negli scavi debba uscire dal paese e che ogni cosa sia posta sotto la cura del Governo italiano ;

(*c*) che tutte le nazioni civili debbono collaborare con l' Italia per compiere questa " fatica d'Ercole " che nessuna nazione potrebbe compiere da se stessa ;

(*d*) che siano fondati Comitati nazionali in ogni paese, compresa l' Italia stessa, avendo ciascuno il Capo dello Stato come presidente onorario ; ma che siano formati di rappresentanti di ogni classe e di archeologi, allo scopo di propaganda ;

(*e*) che ci sia anche un Comitato internazionale sotto il patrocinio di S. M. il Re d' Italia e di funzionari italiani (come ad esempio, il ministro dell' istruzione pubblica, il sindaco di Napoli, ecc.), e di *un* rappresentante per nazione. A questo Comitato internazionale spetterebbe la suprema autorità in materia ;

(*f*) ma che la funzione dei Comitati stranieri non sia solamente di raccogliere contribuzioni materiali, cosa che, nella mia opinione, sarebbe contraria alla dignità del Popolo Italiano. Invece non mi pare disdicevole alla dignità di qualunque nazione lo accettare la cooperazione scientifica della fratellanza internazionale e puramente scientifica. Sotto la direzione dell' Italia dunque, dovrebbe formarsi un personale di scienziati delle diverse nazioni che lavorerebbe insieme ai colleghi italiani. Il professore Orsi parla di 500 mila lire. Se gli scavi si dovranno fare esaurientemente mi pare che questa somma basterà per un solo anno del decennio.

E terminando, mi sia concessa una parola sul lavoro personale compiuto dal mio amico Shoobridge e da me stesso, senza alcun aiuto, per il quale *abbiamo chiaramente avuta autorizzazione dal Governo italiano.* Finora abbiamo ricevuta l' adesione del Governo francese, tedesco e americano, compresi i Capi di Stato e i ministri. Siamo per fondare un Comitato in Inghilterra, in Austria, ecc. Abbiamo impegnato tempo, fatica e fatti viaggi con entusiasmo per amore della causa, pensando che questo fosse il nostro contributo per il grandioso disegno. Ed è nostra intenzione ritirarci quando i Comitati saranno fondati e avviati; persuasi d' avere iniziato senza interesse alcuno una grande e buona opera. Non aspettavamo nè aspettiamo riconoscenza; ma dinanzi alle false interpretazioni, agli erronei apprezzamenti e anche ad allusioni ingiuriose che ci vengono da varie parti, e dinanzi alla discordia che vediamo sorgere, mentre credevamo aver seminato la pace, abbiamo l' orgoglio di affermare che non ci meritavamo il travisamento delle nostre intenzioni.—Con la più cordiale stima,

CHARLES WALDSTEIN,
Professore all' Univ. di Cambridge.

Ringraziamo il prof. Waldstein per averci inviato una lettera, la quale spiega esaurientemente al pubblico italiano gl' intenti dei promotori degli scavi di Ercolano. Il sincero disinteresse, che anima il prof. Waldstein e i suoi collaboratori merita l' attenzione e la gratitudine degl' italiani. Permetta però l' egregio uomo due osservazioni alla sua lettera.

Anzitutto il direttore della Scuola inglese d' Archeologia, signor Stuart Jones, e il direttore della Scuola americana di studi classici, signor Richard Norton, riferivano non le loro impressioni sul piano del prof. Waldstein, ma rispondevano a nostre domande categoriche se, cioè, istituti stranieri legalmente costituiti intendessero per ragioni esclusivamente scientifiche intraprendere studi in Italia e quali condizioni, che non ledessero la dignità e la sovranità dell' Italia, sarebbero disposti ad accettare. Era dunque, come vede il prof. Waldstein, una pura questione di massima, nella quale nè gli archeologi stranieri, nè gli italiani da noi interrogati consideravano direttamente i proposti scavi ercolanensi.

La seconda osservazione riguarda il programma del prof. Waldstein come viene lucidamente esposto nella presente lettera. Il programma è indubbiamente seducente e bello: è una specie di confederazione europeo-americana in pro degli scavi, una camera internazionale archeologica, un tribunale dell'Aja per gli studi dell' antichità, nel quale all' Italia spetterebbe un posto speciale, risponde, in altri termini, a una tendenza comune a tutti gli uomini d' intelletto di accomunare gli interessi scientifici e, forse più tardi, gli stessi interessi politici. Ma gli Stati Uniti europeo-americani sono ancora lontani: perciò il grande Comitato internazionale del prof. Waldstein sembra un ideale nobilissimo e degni di plauso, ma non, per ora almeno, facilmente raggiungibile.

C. W.'S SECOND LETTER TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, January 26, 1905.)

Sir—You publish to-day a letter from "Your Correspondent in Rome," dated January 14.

To all great enterprise there seems to be a chapter of unavoidable accidents. In the present case these are (1) that the newspaper reports of my lecture at the Royal Academy were not more complete and did not contain what was said concerning the position of Italy in the international scheme; and (2) that I was absent in America when these incomplete reports were commented upon. Had I been able to correct these errors at once they would not have grown and spread as they have, and they would not have contaminated the judgment of even your Correspondent (who first announced the inception of the movement to you last April) and of my former assistant, Professor Richard Norton.

My friend Commendatore Boni has given the only proper answer, under the circumstances, with the evidence then before him, as quoted by your Correspondent:—"I have, therefore, no means of answering the question which has been put to me personally."

Had your Correspondent adopted the same attitude—not only wise, but just to me—he would not have quoted that unfortunate and thoroughly inappropriate epithet as regards the position of Italy in such an enterprise—an interpretation of the spirit of my scheme which I have done all in my power to make impossible. Allow me to add that in none of my lectures did I make a direct appeal for funds, and that privately I only urged upon those who were able to do so to promise future support to the committees when formed. I desired to have no concern with the financial aspect of the question.

Had I followed your Correspondent's advice and presented an application to excavate Herculaneum according to the law he quotes, I could only have done so in my name, which would have been as foolish and impertinent on my part as it would have been absurd for the authorities to grant my request. There would then have been real justification for all this outcry. My scheme for arousing interest over the world and creating the proper responsible bodies to carry out the work was addressed to the Minister who is *ex officio* chairman of the "Central Committee" mentioned in the law, who could, whenever he saw fit, bring the matter before his colleagues.

There are two questions to which I should like a direct answer from your Correspondent and Professor Norton:—(1) Are the eminent and capable archaeologists mentioned in my letter—nearly all of them my own friends or acquaintances of long standing—exceptional as regards the characteristics of specialists to which I referred, in that they work in complete harmony with one another professionally and personally? (2) Admitting that the international excavation of Herculaneum is desirable, would it have been the "right end of the business" to evoke a discussion on all the questions involved, which was to end in final agreement, before seeing whether the world at large could be interested in the general scheme?

Your Correspondent and Professor Norton are better qualified than I am, from their residence and work in Italy, to answer my first question. But they must allow me to hold that my experience in such matters gives me a certain right to have an opinion on the second question. I venture at once to answer this question on my part and to say, namely, that it would not have been the "right end." The recent action of archaeologists, including that of your Correspondent and Professor Norton, enables us to gauge what would have been the result had I begun on that side.—Your obedient servant,

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge,
January 24.

C. W.'S THIRD LETTER TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

THE PROPOSED EXCAVATION OF HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, January 31, 1905.)

SIR—As reports are persistently published in the Press denying that I have acted with the knowledge and the approval of the Italian Government in what has hitherto been done to further the scheme of an international excavation of Herculaneum, though I published a full account of my action in the *Times* of January 23, I feel constrained to publish the following facts. I hesitate the less to do this as I feel assured that the Italian authorities have no intention of withdrawing their approval, and as the official letter here printed was asked for, and given, for the very purpose of proving my authority.

I need not repeat an account of the plan which I formed for the initiation of the great work. For this I must refer the reader to my letter in the *Times*.

On April 18 of last year I had the honour of being received in audience by the King of Italy. I laid my plan before His Majesty, who brought great insight and sympathy to bear upon the question, and pointed out some of the difficulties in the way of the excavation. His approval was entirely conditional upon the approval of the responsible

Ministers, and he graciously offered to speak to the Prime Minister about the scheme.

On April 19 I laid the scheme before the Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti, who also gave his approval, but informed me that the matter would finally depend upon the approval of his colleague in the Cabinet, the Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Orlando, in whose department excavations belonged. He gave me and my scheme a warm letter of recommendation to Signor Orlando.

On April 21 I developed my plan to Signor Orlando. We discussed the whole matter, and I received his complete and warm approval. I dwelt upon the international (apart from the archaeological or scientific) aspect of the enterprise. This, too, met with his cordial commendation. I acquainted him of my immediate purpose to form such a committee in England, then in France, Germany, and the United States, with the heads of State as hon. presidents, and that I should take up this work upon leaving Rome. This I did on the following day. With his consent the fact of his approval was reported in the *Times* of April 23. I asked Signor Orlando to give me an official letter confirming his adhesion, so that I could show it in case my authorisation was doubted. This he promised, and he fulfilled his promise the same day. The official letter reads as follows :—

Ministero dell' Istruzione,
Il Ministro.

ROMA, 21 *aprile* 1904.

ILLUSTRE SIGNORE—Stamane ho avuto il piacere di essere informato da Lei del grandioso Suo disegno di promuovere, sotto il patrocinio di S. M. il Re d' Italia e di altri Capi di nazioni, una iniziativa mondiale per esplorare completamente Ercolano.

Da tanta impresa, se attuata, la scienza, la storia, l' arte potranno trarre vantaggi incalcolabili.

All' ardito Suo progetto io fo plauso, e faccio voti che la grandezza e le difficoltà dell' impresa non ne impediscano l' attuazione ; e che questa Italia, la quale apre le sue braccia all' amplesso del mondo, possa rivedere al sole le vestigia di quell' antica città da cui uscirono opere cotanto mirabili.

Accolga, illustre Signore, le espressioni della mia particolare stima.

Il Ministro,
ORLANDO.

All' Illustre Profr. Carlo Waldstein,
Grand Hotel, Roma.

TRANSLATION

This morning I have had the pleasure of being informed by you of your great plan to initiate, under the patronage of H.M. the King of Italy and of the heads of other States, an international project for the complete excavation of Herculaneum.

From the execution of so great an enterprise incalculable advantages will accrue to science, history, and art.

I applaud your courageous design, and hereby give expression to my wishes that the vastness and the difficulties of the enterprise may not stand in the way of its realisation; and that this Italy of ours, who opens her arms to the embrace of the world, may see restored to the light of day the remains of that ancient city from which such wonderful works of art have already issued.

This disposes of the question beyond all doubt.—Your obedient servant, CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge,
January 30.

LETTER OF C. W. TO THE *MORNING POST*, 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*Morning Post*, February 13, 1905.)

SIR—The interesting account which your Rome Correspondent gives of the state of archaeological opinion in Italy concerning the international excavation of Herculaneum is almost the first report of an English correspondent which does me the justice of stating that "my plan has been more or less imperfectly understood by the Italian public." The motto which he gives as conveying the spirit of my Italian colleagues, "collaboration, not concession," would exactly be the motto for the international scheme I propose. The Italian Government cannot be entirely freed from blame for not having at the very outset made clear to the Italian public the distinctly international character of the plan—in no wise abstract or merely academic but concrete and practical,—a plan to which, in so far as it was to be international, they had unequivocally agreed. If the Italian public had realised this the opposition would not have been aroused. But this misunderstanding and consequent opposition was still further increased by the action of my friends, the directors of the British and the American Schools at Rome. They no doubt acted in a manner which they thought was in the interests of their schools; but they have done their best to wreck the scheme as it was before the world and the Italian people. The *Giornale d' Italia*, quoted by your Correspondent, has collected and printed a number of letters from representative archaeologists in Italy. I have so far seen seven such letters. The first is by Mr. Stuart Jones of the British School, and the second batch is led off by Mr. Richard Norton of the American School. Their discussion turns essentially round the rights of foreigners, presumably the foreign schools in Italy, to excavate on Italian soil. This is a very interesting and important question, but it does not apply to the Herculaneum plan now before the world. From the very outset I made it clear, and have done my best to do this ever since, that Herculaneum is not to be excavated by foreign individuals or foreign schools or foreign nations. It is to be excavated through the co-operation of all nations, joining Italy as the local and authoritative centre to this union, under Italian laws, safeguarding the integrity and the national dignity of that country. I must repeat that this, the central and essential part of my scheme, was made clear from the very beginning, and that, on that basis, I had full authority from the Italian Government to act as I have done. There can be no vagueness about this issue ; and when Mr. Norton begins his letter by saying that my plan is too vague to be discussed, and then opens the discussion of the excavation of Italian sites by foreigners, he has not acted fairly by the great scheme before the world to which I have devoted my best energies. Nor has he acted wisely in the interest of the question, and, as I could readily prove to him, of the activity of his own school. The word tact has on one occasion been used in connection with this question. I am not too severe on my young friends if I say that tact and generous self-effacement would have enabled them to enter into the plan of a colleague the aim and prospective results of which must be commended by all who care for what Herculaneum may reveal, and for the good fellowship of men of science and civilised humanity at large.

In spite of the vagueness and, worse than vagueness, the complete misunderstanding of the question that was before them, the Italian archaeologists who have so far expressed themselves are far from being violently opposed to my scheme. They are arguing against Mr. Stuart Jones and Mr. Norton when they think they are opposing me. Commendatore Boni generously refuses, in his letter, to express an opinion on the matter at this stage. Signor Beltrami, the distinguished artist, critic, and antiquary, a member of the Italian Chamber, writes a warm and cordial letter which expresses most emphatically the aim and spirit which actuated me in my scheme. A letter is reprinted from the Naples paper *Pungolo*, by Professor Dall' Osso of the Museum of Naples, essentially in favour of the ideas in my scheme. Professor Pigorini is distinctly opposed to any form of foreign excavation in Italy. I have, however, since had a personal letter from him expressing his high appreciation of the spirit that moved me. Finally, Professor Orsi, as reported by your Correspondent, points to the "herculean task" of the excavation of Herculaneum, and recommends that the Italian Parliament should begin by voting £20,000. It is not the time for me to publish any definite plan as to how such an excavation is to be carried on. Moreover, that question in my scheme would have to be decided by the well-matured thought of the best experts—not only archaeologists but geologists, mining engineers, and financiers working together. But I may at once say that the sum here mentioned might perhaps be sufficient for one year's work of the many decades that will be occupied. And if

Professor Orsi does not refuse to admit the possibility of the acceptance of contributions from foreign sources, I should like to know how far the national dignity of which we have heard so much will be saved by such a contingency, in preference to an actual co-operation of all nations with Italy in the sphere of pure science? I am debarred at the present moment from commenting upon the answer which Signor Orlando gave to the question put in the Italian Chamber concerning the authorisation to act in the matter given me by the Italian Government. For I have transmitted, through the Italian Embassy in London, definite facts and questions which are at present *sub judice*. As these were handed in nearly three weeks ago, I have reason to expect that a clear and final answer will soon reach me.—Yours, etc., CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge,
February 11.

LETTERS FROM "TOWN CLERK" OF RESINA, 1905

RESINA (CORSO ERCOLANO 36 p.p.),
28 *febbraio* 1905.

ILLUSTRISS. SIG. PROF. WALDSTEIN—Da quando l' onor. Santini interrogò, alla nostra Camera, S. E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, circa la nobile propaganda da V. S. fatta, nel lodevole intento di esumare questa sepolta Ercolano, su cui io dimoro, e favorire le ricerche dell' archeologia e della storia, questo Consiglio Comunale, nel cui seno furono applauditamente lette le lettere da Lei scritte e pubblicate sul *Giornale d' Italia* nominò, su mia iniziativa, una Commissione allo scopo di recarsi a Roma e interessare il prelodato Ministro ad adoperarsi a tutto uomo perchè la grandiosa idea di V. S. sia incoraggiata ed iniziata.

Dopo ciò ho creduto come assessore del Comune e come cittadino di Resina, di inviare a V. S. il rispettoso e fervente mio saluto, con l' augurio che la Sua visione artistica di una Ercolano rinata a novella vita davanti ai nostri occhi attoniti e al nostro spirito latino, sarà un giorno, non lontano, elevato all' orizzonte del Fatto, come avrebbe detto il Carlyle, e che il nome di Charles Waldstein resterà memorabile nel cuore dei Resinesi.

Ella, sig. Professore, meglio di tutti, ha compreso che il problema degli scavi ercolanesi non sarà certo risoluto senza un vivido fervore di scienziati, senza una munifica partecipazione del Governo italiano, e senza l' efficace concorso di altre nazioni civili che hanno a cuore lo studio dell' arte antica. Solo così, la desiata palingenesi può, quando che sia, divenire qualche cosa che non sia un miraggio o un allucinazione.

Intanto Iddio voglia benedire questa Sua bella per quanto utile

iniziativa, da cui tanti vantaggi economici e morali ne trarrebbe Resina, ed io, come figlio di questa mia città, rendendogliene grazie, Le invio, illustrissimo Sig. Professore, il mio ardente augurio, le mie sentite congratulazioni, il mio rispettoso saluto. — Di Vostra Sig. Illustrissima Devoto Servo e Ammiratore, GIUSEPPE ALFONSO COZZOLINO,

Assessore del Comune di Resina.

RESINA (CORSO ERCOLANO 36),
il 10 *maggio* 1905.

ILLUSTRISSIMO SIG. PROF. WALDSTEIN—Quando mi giunse il Suo favorito telegramma da Cannes, col quale Ella mi preannunziava il Suo arrivo a Napoli, io mi rattrovavo a Roma, ma, avvisato in tempo dalla mia famiglia, telegrafai al Sindaco, Car. Strigari, con preghiera di venire a salutarla e, nel contempo, giustificare la mia involontaria assenza.

Non ebbi dunque la fortuna di vederla e di stringerle la mano! fatale destino!!

Devo poi, già da un pezzo, ringraziarla della Sua cortesissima lettera, ch' io lessi in seno al Consiglio di questa città, e in mezzo ad uno scoppio di applausi. Quel Suo documento, pieno di gentilezze, sarà da me gelosamente custodito nell' albo dei miei più cari ricordi. In esso Ella accenna ai campi eterni ove regna, ha premio e trionfa l' Arte sublime ch' è gloria del nostro classico passato. Iddio Le possa dar forza a realizzare il Suo nobile ideale.

In Italia, però, dove tutto si impiccolisce nelle questioni di campanile, si è subito sollevata la rivendicazione dei diritti della nazione nel principio che ogni impresa archeologica e ogni generosa iniziativa artistica, intesa al diseppellimento di Ercolano, devono avere la loro origine e il loro compimento per opera della Nazione stessa—" Ma una questione artistica, come la concepisce l' illustre Prof. Waldstein (dicevo io nel Consiglio Comunale) " dev' essere esaminata " da un punto di vista più largo e scevro di qualsiasi discussione oziosa e primaverile."—Seduta del 24 febbraio u.s. Atti del Consiglio Vol. VIII.

Una serena visione archeologica come la Sua, nel senso di vedere le solenni raffigurazioni poetiche di questa Ercolano, rinata alla vita davanti ai nostri occhi attoniti e al nostro spirito latino, dev' essere, secondo me, considerata come *un fatto internazionale* e senza i pettegolezzi del perentorio mio e tuo. E mi fece, in proposito, una penosa impressione la risposta dell' on. Orlando, allora ministro della P. I., data al deputato Santini: risposta imprecisa, oscura e addensata d' una nuvolaglia di generiche espressioni che lasciarono fredda tutta la Camera.

Del resto io sono persuaso e convinto che se il concorso internazionale, da Lei vagheggiato e proposto, mancherà, nulla se ne farà giacchè, doloroso il dirlo fuori di casa nostra, noi siamo un popolo vetusto a cui manca quell' alta comprensione spirituale che dà luce e fiamma alle idealità e le libera dal loro involucro di apparenze, di parole e di pregiudizi per elevarle all' orizzonte del fatto.

Il nostro Governo, che impassibile ha fatto vendere a Parigi i rari tesori di Boscoreale, si trova sempre nell' imbarazzo quando trattasi di far conservare un monumento che segni una traccia luminosa del nostro passato, e si figurì quanto indugerà oggi che trovasi di fronte ad un' impresa così colossale qual' è quella di esumare questa vecchia Ercolano restituendola a Resina e al mondo. Ripeto : se Ella non troverà i Governi degli altri stati favorevoli, non faccia troppo assegnamento sul nostro, così pigro e indolente.

Un soffio di entusiasmo, uno slancio di magnanima esaltazione estetica ci è venuta da Lei che, ad attuare il disegno ardimentoso, ha rivolto l' occhio e l' animo non solo a noi, ma all' Europa e al mondo erudito. E se Ella non sarà seguita io sono sicuro, sig. Professore, che resteremo per molti anni ancora a cullarci nella pia illusione di veder rinascere dall' antico conglomerato lapilloso le sublimi scene di una grande odissea un dì sacra nel mito e nella poesia della Bellezza.

Vorrei esserle accanto, sig. Professore ed amico, per apprendere da Lei ed ingentilire il mio spirito della Sua erudizione archeologica. Sono un umile ammiratore di Lei e non ho la forza, come vorrei, di seguirla e di poter esserle utile in una così ardua impresa.

Mi gode sol l' animo di aver, innanzi alla rappresentanza della mia città, parlato di Lei, ch' è così innammorato del Bello, e non posso che limitarmi a ringraziarla della Sua lettera e del telegramma.

Ora faccio parte della Commissione che deve recarsi, fra giorni, a Roma per conferire col Presidente del Comiglio e col Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione in Bianchi. Le scriverò al mio ritorno informandola delle risposte del Governo.

Ancora vorrei scriverle, ma non voglio abusare del Suo tempo con questa lettera già fattasi lunga. Le gentilezze da Lei ricevute le porto nell' animo come un fecondo deposito, un tesoro di memorie e di affetti. Chi sa se un giorno potremo stringerci la mano ? E perchè no ? Se un dì il Suo disegno si effettuirà e il piccone comincerà a squarciare il suolo di Resina per svegliare il vecchio Ercolano, Elle sarà certamente qui ad inaugurare il primo tratto che la gratitudine dei Resinesi battezzerà col nome di "*Carlo Waldstein.*"

Ho l' onore di dirmele, con la più sentita ammirazione e simpatia,
Suo devoto G. ALFONSO COZZOLINO.

C. W.'S FOURTH LETTER TO *THE TIMES*, 1905

HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, March 28, 1905.)

Sir—At the end of the letter which I published in the *Times* on January 23, I said:—"Should the Italian nation object to such international work and excavate Herculaneum themselves, I shall not regret the efforts I have made for the wider plan. Herculaneum will be restored to light, which is the most important matter."

Judging from the widespread interest which is being shown in the task all over Italy day by day I think it unlikely that the plan of excavating Herculaneum will now be dropped. My main object is thus attained. But I am furthermore gratified to find, from the numerous Italian Press cuttings which I receive daily, that there has been a marked and complete reaction in favour of my international plan, against which there was such a violent opposition a short time ago. This opposition is naturally accounted for by the appearance in Italy of the first incorrect accounts of my plan, which made it appear to the Italians, not only that I was going to carry out the excavations myself, but that even an American syndicate intended to carry off the treasures found. In any other country there would have been the same opposition and indignation at such a report, and we can sympathise with it all the more in the case of Italy, which has for centuries suffered from the intrusion and tyranny of the foreigner. We can also sympathise with their justifiable desire to protect their national treasures against the rapacity of public and private foreign collectors. The first great mistake made was that the Italian Government, who were well acquainted at first hand with the nature of my plan and had authorised my action abroad, took no steps whatever to correct and guide public opinion. Instead of this they allowed Italian and foreign newspaper correspondents to report that "the Government was ignorant of any 'concrete' plan, but knew how to protect its interests and its dignity." Since the Italians have become acquainted with the true nature of my aims, through the letters I have published in their papers, there has been this complete *revirement.* Serious articles by men of eminence have pointed out the errors, and have even laughingly shown the contrast between the Goths and Vandals and the peaceful and beneficent purpose for which I was working. I have now received an official letter from the commune of Resina (the town above the ruins of Herculaneum), informing me that, at a public meeting, it was resolved to express their gratitude to me, and to send a deputation to the Government at Rome to plead for its support of my plan. I learn from the Italian newspapers that this deputation has presented its petition.

Gratifying as these results are, I do not feel that they are sufficient to enable me to resume the work to which I had for some time devoted my best energies. For, what I said at the close of my first letter to you was meant in all sincerity:—

> One thing remains certain, that, without the cordial and unqualified assent, nay, the positive encouragement, of the Italian Government, the Italian people, and my Italian *confrères*, the work on which I am engaged cannot proceed. But I have reason to hold that I have such support, and that this will soon be made unquestionably manifest to the world.

When I wrote these last words on January 23, I had, on January 18, seen the Italian Ambassador in London. Signor Pansa has from the very outset shown the most cordial and fair-minded interest in the matter; he had been present at my lecture at the Royal Academy, and was acquainted with the nature of my aims at first hand. At that time he kindly read me a despatch from his Government containing a statement by Signor Orlando. Though this statement contained some misunderstandings, it seemed, on the whole, in harmony with my scheme; and the Ambassador and myself felt confident that, if I would communicate through him a clear account of what I had done in the past and proposed doing in the future, the matter would at once be set right with his Government. Such a statement I handed to him on January 19, which was taken by him to Italy. I asked for an early reply; but after two months I have not received any; while newspapers and correspondents continue to write and report on the basis of the previous misunderstandings. Instead of a reply to me, on January 31, with the documents which he had in hand, Signor Orlando made his well-known statement in the Italian Chamber, which, while making some admissions, in nowise cleared up matters, and even gave ground for further misinterpretations. On the same day I published in your columns the facts on which my authority for acting as I had done was based, and printed the letter of Signor Orlando which he had given me after our interview last April. I apprised him of my intention to publish it, by telegram, two days before I wrote it. On February 3 I sent a further communication through the Italian Embassy, pointing out some mistakes in Signor Orlando's statement, making further modifications in my plans to meet possible objections, and asking for a definite answer, so that I could continue or drop my work. After waiting a further three weeks I saw the Italian Ambassador in London upon his return, and he kindly undertook to secure the requisite answers from the Government. These have, however, not yet reached me.

Meanwhile the changes in the Italian Government include the resignation of Signor Orlando. I do not know what view the present Government will take as regards the engagements made by their predecessors. These engagements are beyond all doubt. Now, I can well understand how Signor Orlando's memory may have failed him in the stress of business in which I have known him to have lived; how he neglected to do his share (not mine), after we had come to an agreement about the main plan last April, and to prepare his Italian colleagues on the Commission and public opinion in Italy; how, after the misguided Press campaign had put archaeologists and journalists against the project, he should, as a national politician, have hesitated,—though a timely clearness and firmness of attitude would have avoided such misguidance. I can also believe that, through lapse of memory or through miscarriage of the post, he should have forgotten or not have received the letter I sent him last summer, apprising him of my success in France and my intentions elsewhere. I can, moreover, prove that, through official sources, I was in communication with the Italian Government last autumn, and received nothing but news of encouraging support for what I was doing. I am, therefore, emphatically not writing in a spirit of recrimination when I now insist upon correcting the misconstructions which may arise out of Signor Orlando's statement in the Italian Chamber. I owe this to myself; but, above all, to those people of representative importance all over the world whom I succeeded in interesting in the scheme, who generously gave me their active support in the full faith that I was acting with the proper authority.

Last April I secured all that could possibly be required from the Italian Government to guarantee its consent to my action in bringing about the international excavation of Herculaneum. I would ask anybody, of whatever nationality, whether it is not enough to secure the consent of the Monarch and the Prime Minister of a country conditionally upon the consent of the Minister immediately concerned in the project—which latter I secured absolutely. This verbal consent was then confirmed by a letter summarising the main drift of our conversation and sent to me by the Minister on the same day. It is not customary to ask Cabinet Ministers for a letter confirming a previous conversation unless a definite business agreement is implied. Now Signor Orlando made it appear in his speech as if we might have met and been introduced at a casual social meeting; that he looked upon my scheme with benevolent academic interest; that he believed my object merely was to found an honorary committee of "potentates" who were to do—what? Apparently they were to enjoin upon the Italian Government and people to do their own business. Does Signor Orlando really believe that any of the potentates would consent to such an action? Does he really think that I travelled to Italy expressly for my self-imposed task, as I travelled to France, Germany, and the United States, for such a fatuous, if not impertinent undertaking; and does he credit me with thinking him capable of such a view about himself, myself, or the high authorities with which he wrongly assumes I meant exclusively to deal?

My introduction to him took place in a most official manner, and solely for the business which I had in hand. It was effected through a letter from the Prime Minister mentioning this business, which was sent to him, and upon which a formal interview took place at the Ministry. My first words to him, as to those in authority whom I had addressed before, were, that "this was not a question of foreigners excavating in Italy, but of all nations joining to co-operate with Italy in the international excavation of Herculaneum." Difficulties were mentioned by him and by me, and were discussed by us; points of law which I was asked to lay before him were at once elucidated by his clear legal mind. Yet I met with unqualified and enthusiastic support for the whole enterprise, including the moral effect of such a new international departure; and the real difficulty that loomed before me was the arduous task of interesting the nations all over the world in such a scientific enterprise enough to induce them to make material sacrifice for such a lofty idea. After my interview I certainly had not the slightest suspicion that the difficulty would one day mean the consent of the Italian Government. And when I received his letter written that same day, and confirming in writing in his own words "this world-initiative to excavate completely Herculaneum," that part of my labour seemed definitely over.

I owe this explanation to those who have so generously supported me here, in France, in Germany, in the United States, in Austria, Sweden, and elsewhere. For the present I must ask them to suspend their activity. In order to feel justified in continuing this work—which I am always ready to do—I must feel assured, not only of the consent, but of the whole-hearted desire of the Italian Government, the Italian people, and the Italian archaeologists that there should be an international excavation of Herculaneum. Even when this has been manifested there will no doubt still be a minority among the people and the archaeologists who will mistake national vanity for national dignity, and the hatred of the foreigner for the love of their own country. But I may remind them that there is nothing more undignified than vanity, as far removed from self-respect as egotism is from self-reliant generosity, and that, though love may turn to hate, hate has never yet produced love.—Your obedient Servant, CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge,
March 17.

TWO LETTERS FROM THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON TO C. W., 1905

AMBASCIATA D' ITALIA,
20 GROSVENOR SQUARE,
LONDON, W., *July* 2, 1905.

SIR—As I had the honour to inform you in my previous communication, I did not fail to lay before my Government the contents of your letter of the 16th May last, concerning the scheme of excavation at Herculaneum. I am now directed to communicate to you the answer of the Minister of Public Instruction on that subject, viz.—that it being question of an undertaking of great importance and connected with measures of an international nature, His Excellency wishes, before adopting any decision, to solicit the opinion of the "Commissione Centrale d' Antichità e Belle Arti," which he proposes to do at the next meeting of that Body.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

PANSA,
Italian Ambassador.

Professor C. Waldstein,
King's College, Cambridge.

AMBASCIATA D' ITALIA,
LONDRA, 28 *dicembre* 1905.

SIGNOR PROFESSORE—Facendo seguito alla mia lettera del 2 luglio scorso, ho l' onore d' informarla che la Commissione Centrale d' Antichità e Belle Arti, riunitasi in questi giorni, a sezioni riunite, ha espresso il parere che, in vista del forte dispendio necessario per gli scavi della città d' Ercolano, che supererebbe le forze di un solo Stato,—presa conoscenza della proposta fatta a questo riguardo dalla S. V. Illma e consentendo pienamente negli alti e nobili sensi che l' hanno inspirata,—la approva in massima, pur riservando ogni questione necessaria ad applicare il grandioso disegno.

Gradisca, Signor Professore, gli atti della mia più distinta considerazione.

PANSA.

Illmo. Signore Prof. C. Waldstein,
ecc., ecc., ecc.,
Cambridge.

C. W.'S LETTER TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON, 1906

January 5, 1906.

MY DEAR SIR—It is now some time ago (just before your departure for Italy) that I had the honour of writing to you, and I pointed out how the gratifying resolution of the Central Commission on my Herculaneum scheme, and the recognition there given to the nature of my efforts in the matter, however much it pleased me, did not put me in a position to warrant the resumption of my efforts. I know that since then there has been a change of Government; but I cannot believe that such a change would affect the continuity in matters concerning the Government's dealing with foreigners in no way connected with party politics. I am constantly receiving inquiries from Italians as well as from abroad; and I am anxious to settle the whole question in one way or the other. This I could best do by seeing the people concerned in Italy, for however short a time; and by making my own scheme and my own position clear to them beyond all doubt. I could run over to Rome in the first or second week of April for this purpose. On the other hand, I have not had a single direct communication to assure me that the Government are willing to clear the matter up, and I can therefore not thrust myself upon them. I am sure you will recognise the delicacy of my position. If I could have any intimation that the authorities would like to confer with me on the matter, I shall at once make arrangements to leave for Rome so that I arrive there on some day between April 5 and 10. Will you kindly ascertain whether this is desired or not? I should be grateful if you could let me know this *as soon as ever possible*, as I must make my own plans some time ahead.—I remain, your Excellency's etc.,

C. W.

NOTE FROM THE ITALIAN CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES, LONDON, 1906

ITALIAN EMBASSY,
20 GROSVENOR SQUARE,
LONDON, W., *March* 19, 1906.

SIR—I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant. I lost no time, after receiving your former letter, in laying before my Government your wish to be received by the competent Italian authorities in connection with your plans of excavations at Herculaneum, and I find now that it would be outside the scope of my duties to put any further pressure on them.—Believe me to be, Sir, truly yours, A. DE BOSDARI.

NOTE FROM THE BRITISH CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES, ROME, 1906

The Minister of Public Instruction told me he would be charmed to receive Professor Waldstein and make his personal acquaintance, but that he feared the journey would be undertaken in vain if Prof. Waldstein expects to arrive at—or approach—a definite conclusion.

I gathered he had answered Guicciardini in the same sense.

C. DES GRAZ.

March 28, 1906.

LETTER FROM THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, LONDON, 1906

AMBASCIATA D' ITALIA,
LONDRA, 20 *aprile* 1906.

ILLUSTRISSIMO SIGNORE — Conformemente al desiderio da Lei espresso questa Ambasciata non mancò di far conoscere a S. E. il Ministro dell' Istruzione Pubblica il proposito della S. V. di recarsi in Roma per conferire intorno al progetto per gli scavi d' Ercolano.

Com' ebbi a suo tempo a riferirle, la Commissione Centrale d' Antichità e Belle Arti riconobbe il Suo disegno meritevole di plauso ma fece ogni riserva circa alla possibilità della sua applicazione: sarebbero quindi necessari altri studi per esaminare la convenienza e la possibilità di tradurre in atto simile vasto piano. In questo stato di cose S. E. il Ministro dell' Istruzione Pubblica non crede possibile prendere in proposito una risoluzione sollecita, e, mentre m' incarica di ringraziarla della Sua offerta di venire a conferire a Roma, tiene a farle conoscere che non sarebbe ancora possibile per ora prendere in esame in modo decisivo e concreto il progetto in questione.

Gradisca, Signor Professore, gli atti della mia piu distinta considerazione.

TITTONI.

Signor Professore C. Waldstein,
King's College, Cambridge.

DRAFT IN ENGLISH OF MEMORANDUM WHICH C. W. LEFT IN FRENCH AT MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT ROME ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1906

After interview with Tittoni at Circolo di Caecia, in which I gave facts to him, I returned to Ministry and gave them to his Secretary, summarising questions from my point of view as follows:—

(1) That in 1904, after laying my plan before King, Giolitti, and Orlando, I received *full authorisation* from Italian Government (in writing, from Minister of Public Instruction) to begin my work of forming my Committees for *international* Excavation of Herculaneum—which I took up all over world.

(2) This authorisation was never withdrawn — only strengthened. For—

(3) Only official communication I received from that Government was through Italian Embassy, London, informing me of the resolution of the Commissione Centrale, etc., to whom question referred by Government, recognising my work, and voting by 9 against 4 *for* my scheme.—*Autumn* 1905.

Since then have had no official communication. It is true that—

(4) Through speech in Chamber of Orlando in 1905, as well as through newspapers, it appeared that Italian Government denied this authority having been granted.

Nearly two and a half years have gone by, and I am justified in asking from Italian Government that I be invited and encouraged to continue my work.

ARTICLE BY S. MÜNZ IN *VIENNA NEUE FREIE PRESSE*, 1906

DIE AUSGRABUNG VON HERKULANUM

(*Neue Freie Presse*, September 27, 1906.)

CADENABBIA AM COMERSEE, *im September.*

In dem internationalen Publikum, das in diesem am westlichen Ufer des Comersees zu der Gemeinde Griante gehörigen idyllischen Ort Herbstvilleggiatur hält, lernte ich durch gemeinsame Freunde an einem Abend, während rotkostümierte neapolitanische Musiker und Sänger unter dem sternenhellen Himmel ihr übliches Funicoli Funicola zum Besten gaben, den Cambridger Universitätsprofessor Waldstein kennen, den ich nach seinem energischen, lebendigen Äussern eher für einen Sportsman und Landedelmann, als für eine akademische Leuchte gehalten hätte.

Tags darauf erfuhr ich von ihm, dass er Professor der Archäologie und von dem Gedanken voll sei, das vor 1800 Jahren verschüttete Herkulanum ausgraben zu lassen. Er weile, erzählte er mir, keineswegs ausschliesslich zu seiner Kurzweil in Italien, sondern sehe für die nächsten Tage einer Begegnung mit dem Minister des Äussern Tittoni entgegen, bei der das Herkulanum-Projekt zur Aussprache, wenn nicht gar zur endgiltigen Entscheidung gelangen solle. Im übrigen, meinte Professor Waldstein, er wolle vorläufig davon Abstand nehmen, mir sein Projekt, für das er bereits das Interesse des Königs Eduard, des Kaisers Wilhelm, des Königs Viktor Emanuel, des Präsidenten Roosevelt und insbesondere auch des deutschen Reichskanzlers gewonnen, des längeren auseinanderzusetzen. Er erwarte für Sonntag den berühmten Komponisten des "Mefistofele," Arrigo Boito aus Mailand, zum Lunch und bitte auch mich, dabei nicht zu fehlen. Arrigo wie sein Bruder, der hervorragende

Architekt Camillo Boito, interessierten sich sehr für den Plan der Ausgrabung Herkulanums, und um sich nicht zu wiederholen, wollte er dann in Boitos und meiner Gegenwart die Sache auseinandersetzen. In einem kleinen Kreise, in dem auch schöne und geistreiche Frauen und daneben auch ein junger österreichischer Diplomat gegenwärtig waren, traf ich dann den Maestro, der auch der Intimus Verdis gewesen und ihm die Libretti für seine letzten Opern "Otello" und "Falstaff" geschrieben.

Während des Essens führte der geistvolle Boito den Löwenanteil der Konversation. Er sprach insbesondere in fesselnder Weise von einem Zusammensein mit Saint-Saëns, Tschajkowsky und Max Bruch in Cambridge, als sie alle hingekommen waren, sich den Hut des Ehrendoktors zu holen. Damals war es, dass er Professor Waldstein kennen lernte. Bei einem Diner feierte der grosze Physiker Lord Kelvin in den fremden Musikern die edlen Streiter für eine Welt der Verbrüderung. Jeder dieser Musiker hätte es nämlich verstanden, in einzelnen seiner Kompositionen den Zauber fremder Zonen festzuhalten.

Von der musikalischen Kosmopolis kam dann die Rede auf die internationale archäologische Tat, deren Anwalt Professor Waldstein sein wollte.

Nach dem Mahle, das in dem kleinen "Hotel Cadenabbia" stattgefunden, zogen sich Boito, Waldstein und ich in die dem Herzog von Meiningen gehörige Villa Carlotta zurück. Dort hatte der Cambridger Professor, der Gast des abwesenden feinsinnigen Herzogs von Meiningen war, seinen Schreibtisch in einem mit wundervollen Empiremöbeln ausgestatteten Gemache im Erdgeschosse aufgeschlagen. Doch die Sonne brannte heiss und wir suchten Schatten in dem Bambusgesträuch des Gartens, in dem auch Lorbeer, Limonen, Zedern, Magnolien in erdrückender Üppigkeit gedeihen.

Hier sassen wir zwei Stunden beisammen, und Herkulanum bildete den Hauptgegenstand unserer Unterhaltung. Boito sagte uns dann Addio, musste zu Freunden nach Cernobbio hinüber, und Professor Waldstein nahm es auf sich, mir den Tag darauf noch ein Stündchen zu widmen und mir, vor dem grossen Empireschreibtische sitzend, angesichts der Empirewiege, in der vor achtzig Jahren der nun greise Herzog von Meiningen seine erste Kindheit hingebracht, ein Privatissimum über seinen Plan der Ausgrabung von Herkulanum zu halten. Vom See her vernahm man fröhliches Rudern—ganze Scharen pilgerten zur Villa Carlotta, um hier neben dem Garten selbst, der in wilder Herbstfülle prangt, Canovas berühmte Marmorgruppe Amor und Psyche und Thorwaldsens Alexanderzug zu bewundern. Ich aber halte es, da das Herkulanum-Projekt, wenn auch in aller Stille, vielleicht aus der Sphäre der grauen Theorie in die blühende Wirklichkeit hinüberzuschlüpfen im

Begriffe steht, für Pflicht, den Lesern dieses Blattes auf Grund der mündlichen Mitteilungen Waldsteins Rechenschaft über den Stand der Frage zu geben, für die auch das Interesse der Machthaber Europas und Amerikas sich zu regen beginnt.

. . . .

Herkulanum liegt näher an dem Vesuv als Pompeji. Die Verschüttung des Ortes erfolgte plötzlich und in kürzester Frist. Herkulanum wurde von einem Schlammflusse bis zu achtzig Fuss Tiefe begraben. Diese Eruption war keineswegs eine Verschüttung durch Lava. Anders Pompeji—dieses wurde von Asche und Lapillen bedeckt, und die Dächer blieben sichtbar. In Herkulanum ward das Leben, wie es existierte, hermetisch verschlossen. Herkulanum blieb durchaus unangetastet. Herkulanum ist ungleich wichtiger für die Welt als Pompeji. Letzteres war eine kleine Provinzhandelsstadt ohne Bibliotheken, ohne namhaftere Kunstwerke. Literarische oder künstlerische Schätze von Bedeutung konnte man aus der Ausgrabung Pompejis nicht erwarten. Anders Herkulanum. Es war ein Sommeraufenthalt reicher Römer mit glänzenden Villen. Agrippina hatte unter anderen hier ihre Villa.

Wie viel man von der völligen Ausgrabung Herkulanums erwarten darf, beweist folgende Reminiscenz : Unter Karl III. von Neapel ist im Jahre 1738 eine Villa entdeckt und ausgegraben worden. Ein Bäcker hatte zufällig nach einem Brunnen gegraben und Karl III. suchte darauf nach Schätzen.

Von Herkulanum stammen auch die meisten Schätze im Museum von Neapel. Diese einzige Villa hat 1700 Manuskripte geliefert—doch war der Besitzer ein Spezialforscher gewesen. Er hatte sich für die spätepikureische Philosophie interessiert, und so waren es darauf bezügliche Schriften, die man in jener Villa gefunden und die in höchst verdienstlicher Weise Professor Theodor Gomperz in Wien dem Verständnisse der gelehrten Kreise zugänglich gemacht hat.

Es ist also sicher, dass, wenn man einmal in Herkulanum ordentlich graben wird, hier wie in keiner anderen Stadt grosse Schätze an die Oberfläche gelangen werden.

Was wird uns Herkulanum offenbaren ? Vielleicht Klassiker, die zum grossen Teile oder wenigstens in manchen Stücken verloren gegangen. Vielleicht die fehlenden Abschnitte von Aeschylos, Livius, Tacitus, den Menander. Es mögen auch in den Tiefen Herkulanums Bücher schlummern, die über die allerersten Bewegungen des jungen Christentums Aufschluss geben.

Bis jetzt konnte Herkulanum aus mancherlei triftigen Gründen nicht ausgegraben werden. Liegt ja doch die Stadt Resina etwa achtzig Fuss über dem alten Herkulanum (bis nach Portici hin). Infolgedessen müsste erstens ganz Resina aufgekauft und demoliert werden, zweitens müssten achtzig Fuss Erde weggeschafft werden. Da würden enorme Kosten in Frage kommen. "Nun," sagte Professor Waldstein, "ich hatte stets den Gedanken, dies könnte geschehen, wenn alle Nationen sich zusammentun wollten.

"Und ich will hervorheben: Nicht etwa, dass ich gerade Italien für zu arm hielte, um es allein zu tun, sondern weil überhaupt kein einziges Land reich genug ist, diese Mission auf sich zu nehmen.

"Aber ein Zusammenwirken aller Völker in dieser Sache wäre nicht nur eine gemeinsame wissenschaftliche Tat, sondern auch so etwas wie eine kosmopolitische antichauvinistische Leistung. Eine internationale Schar von Archäologen würde sich auf dem Boden Herkulanums zu betätigen haben, und diese internationale Arbeit würde sozusagen ein schönes Gegenstück zu der Haager Konferenz bilden. Ein Bulletin in, sagen wir, drei Sprachen könnte wöchentlich erscheinen und die Welt über den Fortgang der Arbeiten unterrichten."

Und nun erzählte der Cambridger Professor, dass er bereits viele namhafte Persönlichkeiten in ganz Europa und auch Amerika für seinen Plan gewonnen. "Ich nenne unter anderen Lord Curzon, den früheren Vizekönig von Indien, Georg Wyndham, Harry Lynch, das liberale Parlamentsmitglied für Yorkshire.

"Sehr erwärmte sich namentlich für die Sache Leonard Shoobridge, ein englischer Landedelmann und Parlamentskandidat, ein vielgereister, hochgebildeter Mann. Im Frühjahre 1904 hatte ich Gelegenheit, dem König Eduard meinen Plan vorzulegen, und er ermutigte mich sehr."

Die Arbeiten, die Waldstein, anknüpfend an seine eigenen Ausgrabungen, über Platea, Sykion, Eretria, Sparta, über das Heraion von Argos gemacht hat, berechtigen ihn, sich ein Urteil über das zu bilden, was in Herkulanum erzielt werden könnte. Er meint: Die Vornehmen von Herkulanum sammelten Kunstwerke, wie wir etwa heute Tizians sammeln.

In seiner *Historia naturalis* erzählt Plinius der Ältere, dass für altes griechisches Silber, auch wenn die Zeichnung fast verwischt war, der höchste Preis bezahlt wurde und, fügt Waldstein hinzu, ein unendlich hoher Preis auch etwa nach unseren heutigen Begriffen.

All das Sinnen des englischen Gelehrten ist darauf gerichtet, dass Italien nicht etwa in seiner Eigenliebe unnütz verletzt werde. Er bemerkt: "Herkulanum soll nicht von Fremden ausgegraben werden, sondern unter der Leitung Italiens. Und diese Ausgrabung auf dem Wege internationaler Kooperation soll in der Weise vor sich gehen, dass keines der Objekte aus dem Lande komme. Zu diesem Zwecke möchten nationale Comités in jedem Kulturstaate gegründet werden und nicht etwa aus Archäologen bestehend, sondern aus hervorragenden Persönlichkeiten, welche die Nation repräsentieren. In jedem Lande soll das Staatsoberhaupt, etwa der Monarch oder der Präsident, an der Spitze des Comités sein, und Leute aus jedem Stande: Staatsmänner, Militärs, Financiers sollen dem Comité angehören, das die Fonds sammeln wird. Zwei Repräsentanten einer jeden Nation sollen in dem internationalen Comité sitzen—darunter der Botschafter eines jeden Landes in Rom—und der König von Italien hätte das Oberhaupt dieses internationalen Comités zu sein, dem *ex officio* vier italienische Mitglieder anzugehören hätten: etwa der jeweilige Unterrichtsminister, der Sindaco von Neapel und zwei andere. Dieses internationale Comité hätte die internationalen Fonds zu verwalten, die für die Ausgrabungen aufzubringen wären. Das Comité müsste auch die höchste Instanz in allen Fragen der Verwaltung und der Ausgrabungen sein. Aber die Ausgrabungen selbst würden von einem internationalen Archäologenpersonal, einem internationalen Stab ausgeführt werden, in dem die verschiedenen Departements den von allen Nationen herbeigeholten Archäologen und Ingenieuren zuzuweisen wären. Das Präsidium dieses Stabes würde wohl dem leitenden italienischen Archäologen zufallen. Das internationale Comité in Rom würde sich mit den nationalen Comités in den einzelnen Ländern in Verbindung zu setzen haben, um diesen Stab zu bilden."

Professor Waldstein träumt den Traum des Jesaias, dass Lamm und Pardel auf derselben Weide weiden. Er sieht im Geiste eine Art wissenschaftlicher Kosmopolis errichtet und die ganze Welt nach Herkulanum hinströmen.

Er erzählt mir, wie sein Projekt immer greifbarere Gestalt annahm.

Die Osterferien 1904 benützte Waldstein, um mit Leonard Shoobridge nach Rom zu reisen.

Im April 1904 hatte er eine Audienz bei König Viktor Emanuel. Er spricht mit grosser Anerkennung über die Einsicht des Königs. "Der König," sagte er, "zeigte sich vertraut mit den Bestimmungen über die Ausgrabungen. Er zitierte die Gesetze von Karl III. von Neapel an bis auf heute und machte sehr richtige Bemerkungen. Der König erfasste sofort die Situation. Er äusserte grossen Enthusiasmus, als ich ihn bat, mir in dieser Sache behilflich zu sein. Als ich nun bemerkte, der König möchte mir gestatten, mich auf seine Zustimmung zu berufen, meinte er: 'Gern—jedoch unter einer Bedingung. Ich bin,' sagte er, 'ein konstitutioneller König' und er wies mich an Giolitti, den Ministerpräsidenten, den er mündlich von meinen Plänen unterrichten würde. Darauf ging ich zu Giolitti, der sich gleichfalls für die Sache erwärmte, mir jedoch eine Berufung auf ihn nur unter der Bedingung gestattete, dass ich zuerst mit dem Unterrichtsminister Orlando Rücksprache genommen hätte."

Orlando nahm die Sache geradezu ekstatisch auf, und als Professor Waldstein etwas Schriftliches von seiten des Ministers in Händen zu haben begehrte, erfüllte dieser seine Bitte, indem er ihm noch am selben Tage den nachfolgenden Brief ins Hotel schickte:

Rom, 21. *April* 1904.

Illustrer Signore!—Heute morgens hatte ich das Vergnügen, durch Sie über den grandiosen Plan informiert zu werden, unter dem Protektorat Sr. Majestät des Königs von Italien und der anderen Staatsoberhäupter eine Weltinitiative einzuleiten, um Herkulanum ganz zu erforschen.

Aus diesem Unternehmen werden, wenn es verwirklicht wird, die Wissenschaft, die Geschichte, die Kunst unberechenbare Vorteile ziehen.

Ich begrüsse Ihr kühnes Projekt beifällig und spreche den Wunsch aus, dass die Grösse und Schwierigkeit des Unternehmens nicht die Verwirklichung desselben verhindern möchte und dass dieses Italien, das der Umarmung der Welt seine Arme öffnet, die Spuren jener alten Stadt, aus der so wundervolle Werke hervorgegangen sind, im Tageslichte wieder sehen könnte.

Der Minister
Orlando.

Leider erkrankte Shoobridge in Italien und konnte dem Cambridger Freunde fortan nicht mehr von Nutzen sein. Hierauf ging Waldstein nach Paris. George Perrot, der frühere Rektor der *Ecole normale supérieure* und jetzige permanente Sekretär des *Institut de France*, gab ihm zu Ehren ein Diner, bei dem zugegen waren: Der bekannte Akademiker und Kenner des römischen Altertums Gaston Boissier; dann Homolle, der frühere Direktor der französischen archäologischen *Ecole d'Athènes* und gegenwärtige Generaldirektor des Louvre, der sich auch durch die Ausgrabung der Altertümer von Delphi einen Namen gemacht; ferner Heuzey, der Direktor des orientalischen Departements im Louvre; Maxime Collignon, Professor der Sorbonne, ein sehr hervorragender Archäologe; Babelon, der Chef des Münzenkabinetts in der *Bibliothèque nationale*; Bayet, der Direktor des höheren Schulwesens im Unterrichtsministerium; der Duc de Loubat—auch er Archäologe. Waldstein trug dieser Tafelrunde seinen Plan vor und fand begeisterte Zustimmung.

Er wollte jedoch Paris nicht verlassen, ohne dem Präsidenten Loubet und dem Unterrichtsminister Chaumié seine Aufwartung gemacht zu haben. Sofort erwirkte ihm der englische Botschafter Monson eine Audienz beim Präsidenten. Dieser machte die Bemerkung: "*Il faut beaucoup de bonne volonté pour faire des grandes choses*," und Loubet sagte zu, das Ehrenpräsidium für Frankreich zu übernehmen. Als er Chaumié seinen Plan vortrug, meinte dieser zuerst, man bekäme in Frankreich nicht einmal leicht die Fonds für die lokal-französischen Ausgrabungen—es würde um so schwerer sein, für Herkulanum etwas zusammenzubringen. Als Professor Waldstein nun erwiderte, gerade durch ein so grosses Unternehmen, wie das in Herkulanum projektierte, würde in der ganzen Welt das Interesse für Archäologie gewaltig gesteigert werden, erwärmte sich Chaumié für die Sache und enthusiastisch rief er das schöne Wort aus : "*Il faut ébranler les cellules généreuses.*" (Man muss die Zellen der Generosität in Bewegung setzen.)

Er schrieb auch folgenden Brief an Waldstein :

PARIS, 22. *Juli* 1904.

HERR PROFESSOR !—Sie haben mich von Ihrem Projekt unterrichtet, ein internationales Comité zu bilden, das Ausgrabungen in Herkulanum organisieren würde. Dieses Projekt scheint mir durchaus des Interesses wert. Ich bin überzeugt, dass das Unternehmen, das Sie verfolgen, wichtige wissenschaftliche Resultate ergeben und dass die Kenntnis des Altertums mit einem neuen und lebendigen Lichte dadurch erhellt werden wird.

Ich bin demnach sehr glücklich, meine volle Zustimmung dazu zu geben.

Der Minister des Unterrichts und der schönen Künste
J. CHAUMIÉ.

Nachdem sich Waldstein einigermassen der Mitwirkung Englands, Italiens und Frankreichs versichert hatte, begab er sich im August 1904 nach Deutschland. Von dem deutschen Botschafter in London, Grafen Wolf-Metternich, eingeführt, suchte er den Reichskanzler Fürsten Bülow in Norderney auf. Er blieb dort vier Tage, die der geistvolle, lebendige und vielseitige Mann in Gesellschaft des Kanzlerpaares v. Bülow verbrachte. Wie sehr er den Reichskanzler für seinen Plan zu interessieren verstand, bezeugt der nachfolgende Brief:

NORDERNEY, *den* 13. *August* 1904.

VEREHRTER HERR PROFESSOR !—Ich habe meinem kaiserlichen Herrn vorgetragen, was Sie über die von Ihnen beabsichtigten Ausgrabungen in Herkulanum mir mitzuteilen die Freundlichkeit hatten.

Se. Majestät der Kaiser zeigte grosses Interesse für Ihren Plan und sagte, von unserer Seite würde auf diese schöne Idee gern eingegangen werden : schön nicht nur, weil dort voraussichtlich grosse Schätze von historischer, archäologischer und ästhetischer Bedeutung aufgedeckt werden dürften, schön auch, weil dadurch ein Bindemittel zwischen den Kulturvölkern geschaffen würde. Ich bitte Sie also, auf unsere Mitwirkung für Ihr Unternehmen zu rechnen und sich an mich zu wenden, falls Sie auf Schwierigkeiten stossen sollten, die zu beseitigen ich Ihnen jederzeit behilflich sein werde.

Ich habe dem Kaiser ferner gemeldet, dass Sie den Wunsch hätten, sich persönlich vorzustellen, und Se. Majestät hat mir gesagt, dass er Sie gern in Berlin empfangen wolle, wenn er anlässlich der Manöver dorthin zurückkehre—das würde in der letzten Augustwoche der Fall sein. Der Kaiser erinnerte sich mit Freuden, dass Sie so freundlich für seinen Generaladjutanten v. Löwenfeld gewesen, als derselbe in England war. Ich möchte Ihnen daher raten, Herrn v. Löwenfeld aufzusuchen oder Sich mit ihm in Verbindung zu setzen, da Sie von ihm am besten erfahren werden, wann Se. Majestät nach Berlin zurückkehrt. Jedenfalls können Sie der freundlichsten Aufnahme seitens des Kaisers sicher sein.—Mit meiner Frau und meinen besten Grüssen,
Ihr aufrichtig ergebenster BÜLOW.

Für Anfang September erhielt Waldstein eine Einladung zum Paradediner im Weissen Saal des königlichen Schlosses in Berlin. Nach Tische liess der Kaiser den Cambridger Professor zu sich bescheiden und sich von ihm das Nähere über den Plan zur Ausgrabung von Herkulanum mitteilen. Der Kaiser ging sofort auf Waldsteins Ideen ein und bemerkte: "Das wollen wir gleich machen. Ich will das Ehrenpräsidium für Deutschland annehmen und einer meiner Prinzen soll das aktive Präsidium haben." . . . Der Kaiser hatte gehört, dass der Cambridger Professor auch ein grosser Jäger und Reiter vor dem Herrn wäre, und bemerkte scherzend, anspielend auf gewisse Fuchsjagden, an denen Waldstein teilgenommen: "Sie sind der jagdreitende Professor!"—"Ich hoffe," erwiderte Waldstein, "dass dies meiner Gelehrsamkeit keinen Eintrag tut," worauf der Kaiser einfiel: "Im Gegenteil, ich wollte, dass auch meine Professoren es täten."

Nachdem er den Reichskanzler von dem Erfolge seiner Audienz beim Kaiser unterrichtet hatte, schrieb Fürst Bülow an ihn:

> Berlin, *den* 13. *September* 1904.
>
> Lieber Professor Waldstein!—Vielen Dank für Ihren freundlichen Brief, aus dem ich mit Freude ersehe, dass mein kaiserlicher Herr, wie ich vorausgesagt, den von Ihnen geplanten Ausgrabungen in Herkulanum warmes Interesse entgegengebracht hat und dass Sie angenehme Eindrücke aus Berlin mitnehmen konnten.
>
> Was nun die Durchführung Ihres verdienstvollen Unternehmens im einzelnen, insbesondere in Deutschland, betrifft, so möchte ich Ihnen anheimgeben, sich unter Darlegung Ihrer Wünsche an den königlich preussischen Kultusminister in Berlin zu wenden. Exzellenz Studt ist von mir verständigt worden und wird gewiss das seinige tun, Ihnen mit Rat und Tat behilflich zu sein.—Mit meiner Frau und meinen besten Grüssen, Ihr sehr ergebener Bülow.

Am 13. Dezember 1904 hielt Waldstein in einer Sitzung der Royal Academy in London, die unter Vorsitz des Präsidenten Sir Edward Poynter stattfand, einen Vortrag über Herkulanum, dem unter anderen das diplomatische Korps in London und viele Kunstfreunde anwohnten. Auch der italienische Botschafter Pansa war dabei. An Italien war dem Cambridger Professor ja besonders viel gelegen.

Schon tagsdarauf schiffte sich Waldstein in Liverpool nach Amerika ein, um die ihm gegönnten vierzehntägigen Ferien zur Propaganda für sein grosses Unternehmen zu benützen. Er erzählte darüber: "Der Staatssekretär des Äussern, Mr. Hay, ein alter Freund von mir, hatte es arrangiert, dass ich in Wadworths House in Gegenwart der vornehmsten und auch der reichsten Leute von Washington eine Vorlesung hielt. Es war selbstverständlich für meine Zwecke von grosser Wichtigkeit, dass ich angesichts der Geldopfer, die in allen zivilisierten Ländern für das grosse internationale Unternehmen zu bringen wären, die Reichen dafür erwärmte. Vor der Vorlesung war ich einer Einladung zum Lunch ins Weisse Haus gefolgt. Mr. und Mrs. Roosevelt äusserten ihr Bedauern darüber, dass sie bei der Vorlesung nicht zugegen sein könnten, aber es widerspräche der Tradition des Weissen Hauses, dass der Präsident in einem Privathause in Washington Besuch mache. —Darauf erwiderte ich: 'Darf ich Ihnen vielleicht eine besondere Vorlesung halten?'—Roosevelt bemerkte: 'Das war es, was ich wollte.'" Und Waldstein las nun am nächsten Tag im Weissen Hause in Gegenwart der Mitglieder der Regierung und der Freunde des Hauses. Roosevelt übernahm des Präsidium für Amerika.

Unseligerweise ward damals nach Italien telegraphiert, Roosevelt hätte das Präsidium überhaupt—nicht das für Amerika—übernommen, und in Italien sagte man: "Wo bleibt unser König?"

"Ich berichtigte," erzählt Waldstein, "sofort dieses wie andere Missverständnisse."

In Newyork hielt er darauf eine Vorlesung im Hause Pierpont Morgans. Da waren viele Milliarden zusammen, die auf die Worte des Professors lauschten. "Eine sehr reiche Dame kam," erzählte Waldstein, "begeistert auf mich zu und wollte mir sofort eine Summe für Ausgrabungszwecke anbieten. Ich aber sagte damals wie immer: 'Ich persönlich will mit dem Gelde nichts zu schaffen haben—das Geld soll von dem Comité verwaltet werden, sobald dieses einmal gebildet ist.' Im ärgsten Schneesturm fuhr ich noch nach Boston, und hier sprach ich vor den ersten Persönlichkeiten der Stadt im Hause der Mrs. Montgomery Sears. Am 15. Januar 1905 war ich wieder in England eingetroffen."

Nachdem in Italien allerhand andere Missverständnisse laut geworden waren, stellte Waldstein sofort einen authentischen Bericht für die italienische Regierung fertig, den er dem Londoner Botschafter Pansa überreichte.

Ich fragte den Cambridger Professor, ob er nicht auch die leitenden Kreise in Österreich-Ungarn für sein Projekt zu erwärmen suchte, und er erwiderte darauf: "Selbstverständlich! Der Botschafter Österreich-Ungarns in London, Graf Mensdorff, ein wahrhaft charmanter Mann, zeigte grosses Interesse für meinen Plan. Er setzte sich in Verbindung mit hervorragenden Landsleuten, wie dem ehemaligen Petersburger Botschafter Prinzen Franz Liechtenstein, einem ausserordentlich kunstsinnigen Manne, und dieser nahm es auf sich, in aller Stille in Österreich und Ungarn Männer zu rekrutieren, die berufen wären, ein Comité zu bilden. Graf Lanckoronski und andere werden darunter sein."

Mittlerweile war in Italien das Kabinett Giolitti mit dem Unterrichtsminister Orlando gestürzt. Eine neue Regierung mit dem Unterrichtsminister Bianchi kam an Ruder.

"Unterdessen," erzählte Waldstein weiter, "gelangte aus Resina an mich eine Adresse des Consiglio Municipale, in der mein Projekt mit Begeisterung aufgenommen ward, und der Gemeinderat von Resina schickte auch eine Deputation an die Regierung nach Rom und drängte zur Ausführung des Planes. Als ich dann im Frühjahre 1905 als Präsident der englischen Sektion im internationalen Archäologenkongress in Athen Neapel berührte, kam der Bürgermeister von Resina auf das Schiff und hielt an mich eine Ansprache des Dankes und der Ermutigung."

Im Oktober 1905 wurde *post tot discrimina rerum* seitens der italienischen Regierung die Frage an die *Commissione centrale delle belle arti ed archeologia* unter dem Präsidium von Visconti-Venosta verwiesen, und mit acht Stimmen gegen vier wurde der Plan empfohlen und angenommen. Freilich erst fünf Monate später erfolgte die offizielle Mitteilung davon. Der Unterrichtsminister des nunmehrigen Kabinetts Giolitti, Fusinato, war sehr dafür. Leider wurde er nervenkrank und musste seinem Amte entsagen. Jetzt ist Rava Unterrichtsminister. Nun muss der Entschluss Italiens endlich fallen. Es gibt nach Waldsteins Dafürhalten kein längeres Säumen. Das Verhalten des früheren Unterrichtsministers Orlando scheint ihm nicht einwandfrei. Auf eine Interpellation im Parlament hin hatte Orlando so geantwortet, als ob er nur wie zufällig und ohne alle Verbindlichkeit mit dem englischen Gelehrten über die projektierte Ausgrabung von Herkulanum gesprochen hätte. Und doch zeigt der oben zitierte Brief Orlandos das Gegenteil. Wozu war er überhaupt geschrieben, wenn es mit der Verwirklichung des Herkulanum-Projekts nicht ernst werden sollte? Waldstein will endlich ein entscheidendes Wort der italienischen Regierung, die bisher aus nationaler Eigenliebe wegen der Mitwirkung der fremden Elemente sich nicht für die Inangriffnahme der grossen Sache zu entschliessen vermochte. In einem Briefe vom 15. September aus Rom unterrichtet Waldstein den Schreiber dieser Zeilen von seiner Begegnung, die er mit Tittoni gehabt, und da heisst es: "Die Unterredung war einerseits befriedigend, andererseits nicht.—'Nicht!' weil der Minister mich versicherte, er könnte keine definitive Zusage geben, da er mit den Akten in der Hand seine Kollegen zum Beschlusse auffordern und die Akten vom Minister des Unterrichts haben müsse—befriedigend, weil er mich versicherte, er wolle sich der Sache *d'une manière sympathique* annehmen und auf sofortige Beschlussnahme dringen."

Bei der bekannten Loyalität Tittonis ist daran nicht zu zweifeln, dass er sein Versprechen halten und auch den Unterrichtsminister Rava für die Sache, welcher der Cambridger Professor seine Kraft und seinen Ehrgeiz gewidmet, zu gewinnen trachten werde. Erst wenn Italien als der in der Sache massgebendste Staat die definitive Zustimmung dazu gegeben hat, dass Herkulanum durch die gemeinsame Arbeit aller zivilisierten Staaten unter der Ägide Italiens ausgegraben werde, kann an die Verwirklichung des Planes ernstlich geschritten werden. Professor Waldstein ist dermassen zuversichtlich, dass er sicher ist, bald die nötigen Fonds aufzubringen, deren er für die Ausgrabungen in Herku-

lanum bedarf. Er beziffert die vorläufig jährlich aufzuwendende Summe auf eine Million Francs. Professor Waldstein wäre fast schon müde, mit des Geschickes Mächten—sagen wir mit Italien—zu kämpfen, würde ihm nicht von allen Seiten erneuter Zuspruch kommen. Erst letzthin schrieb ihm das Parlamentsmitglied für die Ripon-Division von Yorkshire Harry Lynch :

> *Den* 1. *September* 1906.
>
> Ich hoffe, alles werde in Italien gut gehen und Herkulanum werde endlich aus der Kruste menschlicher Dummheit auferstehen, die härter ist als irgend eine Lava. Wenn ich Ihnen jemals und irgendwie von Nutzen sein kann, so lassen Sie es mich gefälligst wissen.

Wer sollte sich nicht von ganzem Herzen diesen Worten anschliessen und dem feurigen Cambridger Gelehrten nach alter Römerart wünschen "*quod bonum faustum felixque sit* . . ." ? S. Mz.

ARTICLE BY E. JANNI IN THE *CORRIERE DELLA SERA*, 1906

IL SOGNO DI UN ARCHEOLOGO

(*Corriere della Sera*, 22 septembre 1906.)

Ho avuto occasione d' incontrarmi col signor Carlo Waldstein.

Il nome è noto fra noi, non tanto per la sua attività di archeologo quanto per un progetto che fu qualche anno fa annunciato, acclamato, discusso, combattuto : se ne parlò nei giornali, se ne disse del male e del bene, se ne fece cenno in una discussione parlamentare e provocò qualche episodio su cui non giova tornare : delle ostilità sorsero, degli entusiasmi, troppo pronti alla prima ora, troppo prontamente scemarono, qualche promessa affogò in un gorgo di frasi e parole vaghe : parve non se ne dovesse più parlare.

Ma chi del progetto ha fatto il suo pensiero dominante, il sogno più bello e più alto della propria vita, una speranza e una convizione grandi come una fede, è di tal tempra che non cede per asprezza di ostacoli e non si scoraggia per ostilità di uomini e di casi ; e ne parla ancora, e vuole che se ne parli, e mira tuttavia alla conquista de' più scettici e di quelli in cui più è radicata la diffidenza. E non tanto, per quest' ardua vittoria, confida nella sua autorità di archeologo — egli occupa da ventisei anni la cattedra di archeologia classica e di belle arti all' Università di Cambridge, è stato direttore della Scuola americana d'Atene e, in quest' ufficio, ha felicemente condotti gli scavi dell' Heraion d' Argo—quanto si conforta nel fascino stesso della grande visione a cui vuol dare consistenza di realtà e di cui sopra tutto sostiene vivamente il carattere pratico.

Come gli esploratori veggono fantastiche regioni di ghiaccio e di silenzio, bianco miraggio incantatore davanti alla prora della nave temeraria, o vibrano alla viva immaginazione di contrade ignote con misteri di vergini foreste e inaccesse sorgenti di fiumi, questo archeologo vive e vibra nella visione d' una città sotterranea, che aspetta dall' ardimento umano il giorno in cui rivelerà le intime forme della sua vita subitamente confitta nel fango e nella morte.

Ercolano, affocata e sepolta con Pompei dalla furia del Vesuvio; Ercolano, rimasta sotto il peso del suo fato mortale mentre l' altra è riuscita alla luce con la sua figura deserta e il suo solenne silenzio di sepolcreto; Ercolano più bella e più ricca, più celata nella tenebra sotterranea: questa città che è un mistero e può essere una rivelazione, questo grande sepolcro da cui possono balzare alla luce ignoti segni d' una vita lontana, questo tesoro che è là, che aspetta, che si deve pur un giorno, in qualche modo, frugare e conquistare, questo grande libro di storia antica sigillato nella terra, è il sogno, il desiderio, l' amore di Carlo Waldstein, cittadino d' America e d' Inghilterra, anglo-sassone fervido e freddo, più tenace della materia in cui la sua città è sepolta.

. . . .

Io lo udivo discorrere, chiaro e preciso, adoperando il futuro con la sicurezza di chi ha già collocata l' azione nel tempo, irresistibilmente.

— Ercolano è stata la mia passione da lungo tempo, ma solo alcuni anni or sono, quando mi riuscì di comunicarla a un mio intelligente e ricco amico, il signor Leonardo Shoobridge, mi parve che da un sentimento di simpatia archeologica si potesse passare ad una attività ardita, che dev' essere feconda. Andammo a Napoli, studiammo, riportammo la convizione che l' impresa, perchè grandiosa, non era ineffettuabile. Ercolano non è sepolta dalla lava. Degli strati superficiali di lava vi si sono stesi nelle eruzioni degli ultimi secoli, ma la fiumana ardente che la coprì fu una fiumana di fango. La lotta contro la sua tomba non sarà dunque così ardua e così trepida degli effetti come sarebbe se la tomba fosse tutta di lava. E ciò che si troverà compenserà senza dubbio largamente dell' energia e del danaro speso nell' opera enorme. Ercolano era una città più ricca, più elegante, più artistica di Pompei: era non tanto luogo di traffico quanto ritrovo signorile di romani nell' estate. Città di piacere intellettuale e sensuale, offrirà tesori più varì, più completi, più cari alla nostra incerta conoscenza della vita antica; la quale ci apparirà tanto più eloquente quanto più repentina, in paragone di Pompei, fu la sciagura che la soffocò e coprì senza larghi scampi di fuga, senza che gli abitanti avessero, come quelli di Pompei, il modo e il tempo di ricercare e portar via le cose più care.

— Ma quanto costerebbe un' opera così vasta e lunga?

— Quanto? Venti, cinquanta, forse cento milioni? Certo costerà tanto che non l' Italia soltanto, ma nessuna nazione più ricca oserebbe da sola affrontarne la spesa. E perciò io propongo il concorso di tutto il mondo civile. E' inesatto, quando non è di mala fede, supporre che si voglia quasi far l' elemosina agl' italiani e impadronirsi, se non altro moralmente, della loro ricchezza storica e artistica. Sarà solo una cooperazione, una federazione di tutti gli Stati—meglio, di tutti i popoli—per una grande conquista. . . .

— Un internazionalismo archeologico?

— Sì, e che vale ogni altro, e che potrebbe essere l' inizio d' una nuova forza pacifica nel mondo. Non vi sono scienze, che hanno per fine, mediato o immediato, il bene morale o fisico dell' umanità e al cui progresso le forze alleate di tutte le nazioni darebbero un impulso maraviglioso? La visione è grandiosa, e però alcuni mi tacciano di . . . visionario. Ma è veramente una malattia certa, e triste, quella di chi non vede un valore pratico se non ai progetti piccoli e bassi.

— Ma chi darebbe così grandi somme?

— Tutti: voglio dire tutte le nazioni e in ciascuna nazione tutte le classi. Non voglio che sia un "bluff" di miliardarì. In ogni Stato—e ho già preparato bene il terreno da per tutto—si costituiranno dei comitati di persone eminenti col compito di attendere alle sottoscrizioni e di partecipare con qualcuno di loro a un Comitato supremo internazionale, sedente in Roma, e sotto la presidenza d' un alto personaggio italiano—altissimo, spero, quando si vedrà il sogno di oggi mutarsi in realtà, concretandosi di energie intellettuali e finanziarie.

— L' Italia avrebbe dunque una parte importante?

— L' Italia avrà una parte prevalente. Non solo in omaggio alle leggi italiane per gli scavi, ma in omaggio agli scienziati italiani; i vostri archeologi invigileranno i lavori a cui prenderanno parte archeologi e ingegneri anche di altre nazioni. Gli operai saranno tutti italiani—un migliaio di persone che per lungo tempo avrà lavoro sicuro—e di questo grande movimento si avvantaggerà tutta la regione vesuviana, tanto colpita dalle eruzioni che meriterebbe di trovar nelle stesse conseguenze di quell' antico male una fonte cospicua di beneficio. Non occorre dire che tutto resterà in Italia, tutto sarà dello Stato. Ai cooperatori delle altre nazioni basterà di avere, nella scoperta Ercolano, un magnifico monumento di concordia civile.

— E basterebbe ciò per trovare tanti e così generosi cooperatori?

— Oh, di questo io sono sicuro. Da per tutto, e specialmente in Francia e in America, sono pronti: vi sarà il soldo dello scolaretto e il milione del miliardario. Ho girato, parlato, osservato. Non è questo l' ostacolo: l' ostacolo è in Italia. . . .

. . . .

Io lo udivo parlare e seguivo nei suoni delle sue parole battute dall' accento sicuro le linee della grande visione.

Ecco la città sommersa nella fiumana rigida discoprirsi a poco a poco. Ogni sasso sonante al colpo del piccone dà all' umile scavatore la trepidanza della prossima rivelazione ; ogni incerta forma grossa di terra è frugata da cupide mani che la svestono, la liberano, la interrogano. E sotto la volta di lava—perchè la nuova città rimarrebbe sotterranea, a sicura sfida di future eruzioni—le case e le vie, i cadaveri e gli ornamenti, le tracce della più varia attività cittadina, i suoi mezzi, i suoi modi, le sue forme, le sue opere, quasi i suoi gesti, si svelerebbero a grado a grado, e dal suo sepolcro la città morta uscirebbe come dalla creta esce, sotto le inquiete mani dello scultore, una forma armonica ed eloquente. E questo scavar nella morte sarebbe una grande cronaca di vita agli uomini. E quando Ercolano fosse tutta libera del fango che l' ha per quasi diciotto secoli contaminata, non essa leverebbe al cinico sole le sue mura sgretolate e le colonne sole come un superstite stupore di templi crollati e le porte e le finestre fatte dalla luce stupide nella loro ampiezza eterna e vana, nè, all' aria viva e tra gli echi dei vivi, graverebbe sulle vie e sulle piazze un silenzio più duro del fango sgombrato ; ma, rimasta sotterra in armonia col fato—risurrezione d' artificio in luce artificiale—le vaghe ombre, tenui e fluttuanti come veli, addolcirebbero le tristi asperità dello scheletro immane e lascerebbero, davanti alla commossa immaginazione dei visitanti, vivere tutti i fantasmi dell' antica vita. . . .

Questo è il sogno. Vano sogno—sussurrano, sorridendo, gl' increduli e i dubbiosi. Forse. Io volevo soltanto dire che il sogno è bello. . . .

E. J.

LETTER FROM LORD KNOLLYS, 1906

Balmoral Castle,
October 4, 1906.

My dear Professor Waldstein—I have submitted your letter and enclosure to the King, and His Majesty desires me to thank you for the information you have given him respecting the Herculaneum scheme.

The King is glad to hear that you have returned to England in restored health.—Yours very truly, Knollys.

LETTER BY C. W. IN THE *MORNING POST*, 1906.

THE EXCAVATION OF HERCULANEUM

(*Morning Post*, October 9, 1906.)

Sir—I am grateful to your Rome Correspondent for having in his telegram of October 2 drawn attention to the new and favourable aspect in which the scheme for the international excavation of Herculaneum is now regarded in Italy. Among the numerous Press cuttings from Italian newspapers which I have received there are hardly any which take an

adverse view. Yet, in spite of the long and explicit articles giving my own views, which recently appeared in the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, and (by Dr. Münz) in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, misunderstandings of the essential features in my plan have crept in, and will creep in, and such misstatements threaten the consummation of the scheme more than any honest and straightforward opposition. I shall be grateful to you if you will help me to clear away these misconceptions—if possible, once and for all—in giving to a wider public an authentic statement of the true state of affairs at the present moment.

As with every question of importance, there is no doubt that there exists in Italy an opposition to the present scheme. The Royal Commission, to which the matter was referred last year (to which I shall refer again), reported by nine votes to four in favour of my scheme. This is highly gratifying. But the fact remains that there was an opposition of four experts. Though I do not think that, if the whole country were consulted on a fair statement of the issue, the proportion opposed would be so great, still those who wish to carry the scheme to completion and the Italian Government must expect some opposition.

Now this opposition consists of honest men living up to their convictions, with whom we can, and ought to, sympathise. They are scrupulously jealous of the national honour, even against all manifest material advantages. The past history of Italy, as regards its treatment at the hands of the foreigner, has in many cases justified them in a deep suspicion of his aims and motives. Where they are wrong is that in this international enterprise, in which Italy herself is in every way to take the lead, such fears and suspicions are quite out of place. There are, of course, also the Chauvinists, who simply dislike the foreigner as such, and whose watchword, continually repeated, is "l' Italia farà da se"—and who do nothing. The real Italy, however—not the Italy of these windbags—does more in excavation and archaeological work than any other country in Europe. The British Empire does not make one smallest fraction of the sacrifices which Italy makes year by year for such scientific and humanitarian work. Yet, do what it may, Italy cannot for several centuries deal with all the numberless sites which must be explored in the interest of classical archaeology alone; and Herculaneum can only be excavated by the combined efforts of all civilised nations. And were all this work, as regards classical antiquity, to be completed, there remain the enormous tasks, undertaken and still to be completed, in prehistoric archaeology, in the archaeology of the Early Christian and the Middle Ages. And if, centuries hence, all this work will have been accomplished, the material which is now dealt with by the historian will then have to be supplemented again by the work with pick and spade of the archaeologist.

Though I know the leading Italian archaeologists to be in favour of my scheme, there are some who oppose it with all kinds of factious arguments. Such men consider their personal ambitions or hatreds more than the advancement of their science or the good of their country. Moreover, partisanship runs so high among them that it is enough for one archaeologist whom they personally oppose to favour a question for them to become violent antagonists to the question itself. Let me also point out that there is no analogy between Western nations like ourselves and Italy in this respect. We do not invite other nations to co-operate, because we have no material for such co-operation. We are not in the proud position of living on the soil on which the common European and American civilisation continuously grew up through all these ages ; nor have we more to do in excavation than our own smallest efforts would easily accomplish.

We must also bear in mind the important fact that in my scheme it is not merely a question of material means handed over to Italy to carry on its own work, which might be humiliating, but that the present movement means a great international gathering in the sphere of science in which Italy, the hospitable home of great international ideas, invites the more spiritual co-operation of the world, so that the foreign colleague will work side by side with his Italian confrère in the actual task of excavating Herculaneum. There can be no question of encroachment on the "honour" of Italy in such an international movement. On the contrary, as an able Italian writer in the *Giornale d'Italia* recently said of our plan : "The Press would do well to support him and to see whether, with the goodwill of all, a new star may not be added to the crown of monuments in which our Italy glories."

Finally, let me emphasise the fact that in this international work, in which Italy will join to itself the intellectual representatives of other nations, there is no analogy to the condition of Egypt, Crete, or Greece, beneficial as the work there done may be.

I must add a few words as to the actual state of the movement.

In the spring of 1904, after securing the favourable consideration of the question by the King of Italy and the Prime Minister (Giolitti), the Italian Government, through the Minister in charge of such questions (Orlando), gave me, by word of mouth and in writing, official authority to carry on my work for the international excavation of Herculaneum. This can be proved beyond all doubt. I thereupon began my efforts abroad, and succeeded in gaining the promises of co-operation from the highest and most responsible authorities in the several countries of Europe and America.

This authorisation on the part of the Italian Government has never been withdrawn.

On the contrary, the only direct official communication—besides those of the Italian Embassy asking for written and detailed accounts of my plans, which were given and have been in the possession of the Government for nearly two years—sent me by the Italian Government was the transmission last winter of the proceedings of their Commission (Commissione Centrale di Archeologia e Belle Arti), which informed me that my scheme was discussed and adopted by nine votes to four. This was therefore only a confirmation of the authority originally given to me. It is true that, owing to misunderstandings and misstatements concerning the scheme, the Italian Press two years ago showed considerable opposition; also, that the Parliamentary speech of Signor Orlando cast some doubt on this authorisation. But no direct announcement of such retraction or modification was ever given me.

The Giolitti Cabinet has now returned to power. A few weeks ago I conferred with Signor Tittoni (Minister of Foreign Affairs) at Rome concerning the whole question. Signor Rava and Signor Corrado Ricci were absent from Rome at the time. Signor Tittoni assured me that he regarded the question sympathetically, but that without his responsible colleagues of the Cabinet he was not able to give a final answer. He promised to bring the matter before his colleagues and to secure an early decision.

It now remains for the Italian Government either to revoke the agreement made in 1904, or to confirm and actively to support the plan for such an international excavation of Herculaneum.

One last word as to my personal relations to the question. I had hoped that the committees, national and international, who will collect and take charge of the funds, etc., would be formed about two years ago. As soon as these are formed I retire to the background. The whole matter will be in their hands. Of course I have my own ideas, elaborated for years, as to the actual methods of carrying on the excavations. But I have carefully refrained from publishing them in any form, as all will be in the hands of the International Committee and of the international staff of archaeologists and engineers, whose decisions I wish in no way to forestall.—Yours, etc., CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

King's College, Cambridge,
October 8.

TELEGRAM IN *THE TIMES*, 1906

THE EXCAVATIONS AT HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, November 12, 1906.)

ROME, *November* 11.

The Central Committee of Fine Arts and Antiquities have at last decided upon the conditions under which they will accept Professor Waldstein's offer of pecuniary aid in the excavation of Herculaneum.

The *Tribuna* of to-day publishes these conditions, and explains that the difference of opinion manifested at first among the committee was caused by the feeling that the original scheme proposed would have given an excessive power of interference to foreigners, "from the heads of States downwards." The committee, however, have now decided unanimously to accept aid on the following terms, which seem to them to safeguard the national dignity of Italy. "First, that the subscription shall be of a private character without any official intervention in foreign countries. Secondly, that the funds shall be administered by an international committee sitting in Rome, of which the King of Italy shall be honorary president, and the actual president some one nominated by His Majesty. Thirdly, that the executive committee of excavations of Herculaneum shall be composed of a number of foreign members, chosen from countries who have contributed to the fund, and of the same number of Italian members; the president of this committee shall be an Italian, and all its members, both foreign and Italian, must be nominated by the King of Italy on the recommendation of his Minister of Public Instruction. Fourthly, that the first publication of all scientific and artistic material obtained shall belong to the Italian Government and be made at its expense, though the Minister of Instruction shall be empowered to invite other Italian and foreign *savants* who do not belong to the executive committee to take a part in that publication. Fifthly, that the foreign members of the executive committee may, on the responsibility of its president and with proper safeguards, permit students of their own nationality to be present at excavations. Sixthly, that the whole production from excavation shall be the property of the Italian Government. This shall not prevent the Italian Government from giving to the States which have most largely contributed some specimens of objects found, in case of those objects being in duplicate and such a concession not injuring national collections. Under these conditions the Central Committee of Antiquities and Fine Arts hopes that the Government will not delay the definite solution of the question."

LETTER FROM SIGNOR RAVA TO SIR EDWIN EGERTON, 1907

Ministero dell' Istruzione,
Il Ministro.

ROME, *le* 23 *février* 1907.

EXCELLENCE—J'ai conféré avec M. le Président du Conseil sur les propositions de M. le professeur Waldstein dont V. E. eut l'amabilité de me parler.

Le gouvernement italien est très reconnaissant de l'empressement et des études que l'illustre Professeur a dédié à la question des fouilles d'Hercolano, mais il ne croit pas de pouvoir accepter, en ce moment, ses propositions.

V. E. sait qu'une autre ville a surgi sur Hercolano de sorte que avant de commencer les fouilles il faudrait d'abord démoler les maisons ou prendre des mésures pour les protéger afin de les conserver pendant les travaux.

Le Gouvernement fera faire des examinations pour bien connaître l'état des choses et fera commencer quelques fouilles, et acceptera volontiers les conseils que l'expérience de l'éminent archéologue M. Waldstein pourra donner. Je m'empresserai de lui faire répondre directement par la Direction Générale des Beaux-Arts.

Agréez, Excellence, mes hommages les plus distingués.

Luigi Rava.

A S. E. Sir Edwin H. Egerton,
Ambassadeur de S. M. Britannique, Rome.

LETTER OF C. W. TO *THE TIMES*, 1907

A LAST WORD ON HERCULANEUM

(*The Times*, April 25, 1907.)

King's College, Cambridge,
April 24, 1907.

Sir—When in April 1904 I had succeeded in gaining the support of the chief Italian authorities for my plan of an international excavation of Herculaneum, in conjunction with and under the direction of the Italian archaeologists and under Italian laws, the matter was settled in its first stage by the warm assent of the then Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Orlando. He supplied me with my credentials, which were to show the world that I was acting with the cognisance and the direct encouragement of the Italian Government, by giving me, at my request, the letter which has already been published. In this letter he recognised all the difficulties which lay before me in this *iniziativa mondiale* before I could secure the co-operation of the civilised world for such a colossal and ideal task, and expressed the hope that I should not meet with insuperable difficulties.

I thereupon began my propaganda for the international enterprise in Europe and the United States, and carried the first stage almost to completion, in a manner which was as satisfactory to me as it was surprising.

When, however, in January of 1905, from utterances in the Italian Press, and from a speech made by Signor Orlando in the Italian Chamber, it became manifest that the Italian Government was no longer prepared to support my scheme whole-heartedly, I wrote as follows, in a letter published in the *Times* of January 23, 1905, in which letter I also insisted upon the competence of Italian archaeologists. "Compare," I urged upon the reader, "the appropriations made by the Italian Government for archaeological, scientific, and artistic work with those of our own Budget, and our admiration of the Italian sense of intellectuality as a factor of national life may not exclude a sense of shame as regards our own national attitude in such matters." The letter ended with the following passage :—

> Should the Italian nation object to such international work and excavate Herculaneum themselves, I shall not regret the efforts I have made for the wider plan. Herculaneum will be restored to light, which is the most important matter. But at the same time I shall regret that Italy does not also seize this opportunity of making itself the centre for a great work in which all civilised nations will unite in harmony on the very soil upon which the essence of their common civilisation rests. This would be the type for other similar enterprises in science and art, and would confirm *de facto* what the peace conferences and the treaties of arbitration are establishing *de jure*. One thing remains certain, that without the cordial and unqualified assent, nay, the positive encouragement, of the Italian Government, the Italian people, and my Italian *confrères*, the work on which I am engaged cannot proceed.

What I then said in 1905 was meant in all sincerity, and applies to the present moment. Herculaneum must be excavated as soon as possible,—because of the quite exceptional character of what we have every reason to expect to find, because of the increased difficulties and cost which every year and week of delay entail, and because of the advantages to the living and the coming generations which the results will yield and of which they ought not to be deprived. On this, all who have any right to an opinion—from Beulé and Gaston Boissier to Reinach and Professor Dall' Osso of the Museum of Naples, the greatest authority on such matters in the present day—are agreed.

What happened since January 1905 may be outlined briefly by the following salient events :—

In the autumn of 1905 the project was submitted by the Italian Government to the Central Commission dealing with such matters. This Commission recommended its adoption by nine votes to four—four abstaining; while Professor de Salinas of Palermo subsequently published the fact that he was temporarily absent when the vote was taken, but that he would have voted for the proposal. It is a noteworthy fact, which has only become known recently, that Commendatore Boni absented himself from the meeting held at Rome which other members, travelling from Palermo and Milan, made a point of attending.

After some delay I was officially informed of this vote through the Italian Embassy in London. The Government had changed, and Signor Bianchi succeeded Signor Orlando. In the spring of 1906 I informed Signor Bianchi, through the British Embassy of Rome and the Italian Embassy of London, that I was willing to travel to Rome to see him, if there was any chance that the whole question could be finally settled one way or the other. I was informed that Signor Bianchi could not undertake to promise this.

Thus the matter remained undecided, until, last autumn (September 1906), a Giolitti Cabinet having again come to power, I travelled to Rome to see Signor Tittoni by appointment, as well as Signor Rava, the present Minister of Public Instruction. Signor Rava had gone to Milan (whence I came) on my arrival in Rome, and had returned to Rome when I arrived in Milan, owing to exigencies of his office. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs—with whom I, as a foreigner, would also naturally deal,—though he pointed out that the matter was not in his immediate competence (*ressort*), manifested his sympathetic interest in it, and assured me that the question would be pushed to a conclusion without delay. This promise was manifestly fulfilled; for the project was again referred to the Central Commission, who, in November of last year, to the agreeable surprise of all concerned, unanimously recommended its acceptance, and strongly urged upon the Government its speedy realisation. I must again point out—which I did not know before—that Commendatore Boni had absented himself from this meeting also. Meanwhile, besides this remarkable support of the archaeologists, public opinion in Italy, as represented by the Press, had emphatically turned in favour of my international plan and gave it unqualified and enthusiastic approval. This I can prove at any moment, as I have received the newspaper cuttings from all parts of Italy. The *Giornale d' Italia* of Rome—formerly more or less opposed to the scheme—printed a long article by Professor Conti, who had been the most decided opponent before, in which that archaeologist generously recanted his previous condemnation of my efforts, and lavished unqualified praise on myself and my work. The *Tribuna*—the paper supposed to be most immediately in touch with the Government, formerly distinctly unfavourable to the scheme—published three long articles by Professor Dall' Osso, supporting it in the strongest manner, and giving a most luminous *exposé* of the way in which the actual work should be undertaken. It was thus assumed from November to February by the Italians and by the whole world that the question was settled and the project accepted. I was myself informed by those competent that this was the case; and, though I received no official intimation to that effect, I myself felt convinced that the matter was settled.

Then, towards the end of February, there appeared the extract from Commendatore Boni's letter to me—which I had not yet received,—and in three days the decision of the Italian authorities was apparently reversed. I say "apparently," because I have only the conflicting newspaper reports and private information to go upon. For I have not yet received official information on the matter.

The subjoined letter to Signor Corrado Ricci will make clear this last phase :—

TRANSLATION

PROPRIÉTÉ ST-FRANÇOIS, GAIRAUT,
NICE, *April* 7, 1907.

SIR—In the month of October of last year you sent me a very courteous reply to a letter in which I had pointed out to you the interpretation which had been given to certain expressions of yours cited by the newspapers to my disadvantage, and you assured me that it was not to me that your words applied. At the same time you announced to me that my project concerning Herculaneum, which had been discussed for two years past, would shortly be submitted afresh to the Central Commission, adding that, although at the moment your personal opinion was not favourable, you would not in any way use your official position to influence the members of the Commission.

Evidently you had loyally kept this promise, for, at the beginning of the month of November, all the newspapers announced that the Commission had expressed itself unanimously in favour of the project, while laying down certain just conditions and recommending its speedy realisation to the Government. Of this I had information from the newspapers and from private sources ; but I have had no direct or official communication. Our Ambassador at Rome and yours in London assured me that they had more than once written and requested that this direct and official communication should be sent to me. In reply to a letter written by me to Signor Tittoni, the only member of the Government with whom I had conferred in person, his Excellency wrote to me in the month of February, that the question would be immediately decided by the Council of Ministers, and that I should receive a direct communication.

You know the events that followed the publication of Commendatore Boni's letter. The newspapers announced that my project had been rejected by the Government. On the 23rd of February, our Ambassador at Rome informed me that he had received a letter from H.E. Signor Rava, in which the latter said that the decision of the Government would be sent to me. Since then, in reply to a letter addressed to H.E. Signor Tittoni, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied to me that the information would be immediately sent direct to me from that of Public Instruction. It is now the 7th of April, and I have not yet received any official communication either of the decision passed by the Central Commission at the beginning of last November or of the rejection of my project in the month of February ; while the newspapers write of the subject and discuss it repeatedly. I am receiving letters from all quarters asking me for information concerning the facts of a matter in which I am believed to be the person most immediately concerned.

This is the simple state of the case ; and I must ask you and also the Minister of Public Instruction to take cognisance of it, and to act as seems to you appropriate in the interest of a question of such importance for science, for Italy, and for the world of culture.—Yours very truly,

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

Professor Corrado Ricci, Director-General of
Fine Arts and Antiquities.

It now only remains for me again to express the hope that the Italian authorities will speedily undertake the excavation of Herculaneum themselves, and will carry it to a successful issue, and to give utterance to my sincere gratification that, under the present Government, such splendid appropriations are being made for archaeological research. Such efforts can but evoke joy and admiration in all those interested in archaeology, in science, art, and culture.

Allow me, in fine, to seize this opportunity of thanking all those, in Italy and every part of the world, who directly or indirectly have given me help and encouragement. Above all, I should like to acknowledge publicly my debt of gratitude to my friend Mr. Leonard Shoobridge. It was he who, in 1903, urged me actually to take in hand the international scheme, which I had developed for so many years, but did not see my way to carry into effect owing to my numerous duties. His active co-operation led to my decision. We travelled to Italy together in the spring of 1904. He prepared the way, by study on the spot, by procuring copious illustrations and collecting the literature on the subject, and has since given me moral and actual support in the work which has demanded some energy and sacrifice. CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

P.S.—Since the above was written, I have received a letter from Signor Corrado Ricci, to which I have sent the following reply, here given in translation:—

PROPRIÉTÉ ST-FRANÇOIS, GAIRAUT,
NICE, *April* 17, 1907.

SIR—I have just received your kind letter, which you tell me is *privée et personnelle.* I am thus debarred from publishing its contents. My letter to you was in no way personal, but purely official. I asked of you and of the Minister of Public Instruction that, at last, some direct and authentic information be given me as to the fate of my "international project," which has now been discussed for three years. Your letter does not provide this information, and I must again beg that this be sent to me in accordance with the promise made by the Minister of Public Instruction to our Ambassador on February 23.—Believe me, yours very truly, CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

To the Director-General of Fine Arts
and Antiquities.

LETTER FROM SIGNOR CORRADO RICCI TO C. W., 1907

SCAVI DI ERCOLANO

ROMA, *il* 27 *aprile* 1907.

Mi pregio comunicare a V. S. una copia delle dichiarazioni fatte da S. E. il Sottosegretario di Stato per la pubblica istruzione nella seduta della Camera dei deputati del 24 aprile corrente circa gli scavi di Ercolano.

Tale comunicazione serve di risposta ufficiale alle proposte da Lei fatte relativamente agli scavi medesimi. CORRADO RICCI,
Il Direttore Generale delle Antichità
e Belle Arti.

All' Illmo Signore Prof. Carlo Waldstein,
Propriété S. François, Nice (Alpes maritimes).

MINISTERO DELLA ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA.

Segue la interrogazione dell' Onor. Rampoldi al Ministro dell' istruzione pubblica "per avere precise notizie sul modo e sui mezzi coi quali si faranno gli scavi di Ercolano."

Ha facoltà di rispondere l' Onor. Sottosegretario di Stato per l' Istruzione pubblica.

Giuffelli, Sottosegretario di Stato per l' I. P. Il collega Rampoldi domanda notizie sul modo e sui mezzi coi quali si faranno gli scavi di Ercolano.

Io gli debbo anzitutto dichiarare che il Governo, pur valendosi delle proposte e dei consigli dei dotti italiani e stranieri, intende riservarsi l' iniziativa e la direzione degli scavi di Ercolano, perchè vuol conservare a questa nobile impresa un carattere nazionale, sicuro in questo di interpretare l' opinione pubblica e il sentimento del paese.

Il Ministero non crede che sia ora necessario intraprendere sopra vasta scala questi scavi, non crede che sia per il momento indispensabile dare un grande sviluppo, una grande estensione ai lavori. Tenuto conto delle condizioni del luogo, delle difficoltà del terreno sul quale si deve operare, delle espropriazioni da compiere, perchè, come sa l' Onor. Rampoldi, vi sono molte case, quasi degli interi paesi eretti su quel terreno, il Ministero crede utile, opportuno, prudente, riprendere gli scavi studiando e seguendo un piano prestabilito e sistematico di lavoro, anche per averne norma nelle decisioni successive e nella valutazione dei mezzi indispensabili a così vasta opera. Questi scavi saranno presto intrapresi, appena iniziato il nuovo esercizio finanziario: il Ministro dell' istruzione si varrà appunto dei fondi stanziati nel suo bilancio per il 1907-1908. Se i fondi si dimostreranno insufficienti, il Ministero ne domanderà al Parlamento dei nuovi con apposito disegno di legge.

APPENDIX II

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT AUTHORS REFERRING TO HERCULANEUM, WITH TRANSLATIONS

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, I. xliv., ed. Jacoby, Teubner, 1885.

Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐπεὶ τά τε κατ' Ἰταλίαν ἅπαντα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς αὐτῷ στρατὸς σῶος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀφίκετο, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς δεκάτας τῶν λαφύρων καὶ πολίχνην ἐπώνυμον αὑτοῦ[1] *κτίσας, ἔνθα ὁ στόλος αὐτῷ ἐναυλόχει,*[2] *ἥ*[3] *καὶ νῦν*[4] *ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οἰκουμένη Νέας Πόλεως*[5] *καὶ Πομπηίας ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται λιμένας*[6] *ἐν πάντι καιρῷ βεβαίους ἔχουσα, δόξης τε καὶ τιμῆς παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τυχὼν ἀπῆρεν εἰς Σικελίαν.*

(For a full translation of this passage see Part I. Chapter II. p. 90.)

STRABO, v. 8, pp. 246, 247, ed. Meineke, Teubner, 1866.

ἐχόμενον δὲ φρούριόν ἐστιν Ἡράκλειον ἐκκειμένην εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἄκραν ἔχον, καταπνεομένην λιβὶ θαυμαστῶς ὥσθ' ὑγιεινὴν ποιεῖν τὴν κατοικίαν. Ὄσκοι δὲ εἶχον καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἐφεξῆς Πομπηίαν ἣν παραρρεῖ ὁ Σάρνος ποταμός, εἶτα Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοί, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Σαυνῖται· καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν τόπων.

Translation of STRABO, v. 8.

Next comes the fortress of Hêrakleion (Herculaneum), occupying a foreland jutting out to sea, which catches the south-west wind in a wonderful manner, so as to make the place a healthy residence.

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[1] *αὑτοῦ* Kiessling, *αὐτοῦ* O.

[2] *ἐναυλόχει* Cobet l.l. Meutzner Ann. Phil. 1877, p. 825, *ἐναυτολοχεῖτο* Aa, *ἐναυλοχεῖτο* R.

[3] *ἥ* ABa, *ἧ* Bb.

[4] *νῦν* om. A.

[5] *νέας πόλεως* Bb, om. spatio vacuo ABa.

[6] *κεῖται λίμενας* c. Bücheler, . . . *νας* AaBa, *κειμένη λιμένας* Bb, *λιμένας* Ab.

Now the Oskoi (Oscans) used to possess both her and her neighbour Pompêia (Pompeii) which lies on the river Sarnos, and thereafter the Tyrrhênoi (Etruscans) and Pelasgoi (Pelasgians) did so, and then the Saunitai (Samnites); but these also were expelled from the places.

Sisenna, Frags. 53 and 54, ed. Peter, Teubner, 1883.

Nonius s. v. fluvius-feminini, p. 207 :

53. Sisenna historiarum libro IIII : Quod oppidum tumulo[1] in excelso loco propter mare parvis moenibus inter duas fluvias infra[2] Vesuvium conlocatum.

54. Idem eodem : Transgressus fluvium,[3] quae secundum Herculaneum ad mare perfluebat.[4]

Translation of Sisenna, Frags. 53 and 54.

Nonius, under the word *Fluvius-feminine.*

Sisenna, in the Fourth Book of his Histories, writes : "Which town stands on a hill, in a lofty situation, close to the sea, with small walls, between two rivers, under Vesuvius" ; and again, in the same context : "Having crossed the river which just beyond Herculaneum <flowed down> to the sea."

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xv. 710.

inde legit Capreas, promunturiumque Minervae,
et Surrentino generosos palmite collis,
Herculeamque urbem, Stabiasque, et in otia natam
Parthenopen, et ab hac Cumaeae templa Sibyllae.

Translation of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, xv. 710.

Next he skirts Capreae, and the promontory of Minerva, and the hills fruitful in the vine of Surrentum, and the city of Hercules, and Stabiae, and Parthenope, born for dalliance, and thereafter the precincts of the Sibyl of Cumae.

Velleius Paterculus, ii. 16, ed. Halm, Teubner, 1876.

Quippe multum Minatii Magni, atavi mei,[5] Aeculanensis,[6] tribuendum est memoriae, qui nepos Decii Magni, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi et fidelissimi viri, tantam hoc bello Romanis fidem praestitit, ut cum legione, quam ipse in Hirpinis conscripserat, Herculaneum simul cum T. Didio caperet, Pompeios cum L. Sulla oppugnaret, Compsamque[1] occuparet.

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[1] <in> tumulo [excelso loco] *Quich.*

[2] infra *Roth*, intra *libri*, contra *Quich.*

[3] fluviam *Quich. cum vulg.*

[4] perfinebat *vel* pertinebat *libri*, perfluebat *scripsi.*

[5] Atavini *A*, *sed s.l.* atavi mei.

[6] Asculaniensis *AP*, *em. Cellarius.*

Translation of VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 16.

Certainly a high tribute is due to the memory of Minatius Magnus, my great-great-great-grandfather, who, being the grandson of Decius Magnus, chief of the Campani, a most famous and loyal man, showed such loyalty to Rome in this war, that, with a legion which he had himself enrolled among the Hirpini, he helped Titus Didius to take Herculaneum, and Lucius Sulla to storm Pompeii and capture Compsa.

SENECA, *Dial.* v. (*De Ira*, iii.) 21. 5, ed. Haase, 1851 ; Teubner, 1893.

C. enim Caesar villam in Herculanensi pulcherrimam, quia mater sua aliquando in ea custodita est, diruit fecitque eius per hoc notabilem fortunam. stantem enim praenavigabamus, nunc causa dirutae quaeritur.

Translation of SENECA, *Dial.* v. 21. 5.

For Gaius Caesar destroyed a most beautiful villa at Herculaneum, because his mother had at one time been in custody there, and thus made its fortunes noteworthy. For while it stood, we used to sail by it indifferently ; now we ask the reason of its destruction.

(The phrase "in Herculanensi" is remarkable : "oppido" is probably to be understood ; cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vi. 1, 2, "Herculanensis oppidi.")

POMPONIUS MELA, ii. 70, merely names the place in a list, with the MSS. slip "herculancum."

PLINY, *N. H.* iii. 5. 62, merely names Herculaneum.

FLORUS, i. 11. 6, ed. Rossbach, Teubner, 1896.

Urbes ad mare Formiae Cumae, Puteoli Neapolis, Herculaneum[2] Pompeii.

Translation of FLORUS, i. 11. 6.

Cities on the sea : Formiae and Cumae, Puteoli and Naples, Herculaneum and Pompeii.

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[1] Cosamque *AP*, *em. Vossius.*

[2] Herculanium *B.*

Livy, x. 45, ed. Weissenborn, Teubner, 1893.

Iam Carvilius Veliam Palumbinum et Herculaneum ex Samnitibus ceperat, Veliam intra paucos dies, Palumbinum eodem, quo ad muros accessit. ad Herculaneum etiam signis conlatis ancipiti proelio et cum maiore sua quam hostium iactura dimicavit; castris deinde positis moenibus hostem inclusit. oppugnatum oppidum captumque.

Translation of Livy, x. 45.

Carvilius had already taken from the Samnites Velia, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum: Velia within a few days, and Palumbinum on the same day on which he approached its walls. At Herculaneum even a hand-to-hand fight left the issue doubtful, and his own loss exceeded the enemy's; at this he pitched his camp and enclosed the enemy in circumvallation. The town was stormed and taken.

Columella, x. 135, ed. Schneider, 1829.

dulcis Pompeia palus vicina Salinis Herculeis.

Translation of Columella, x. 135.

The sweet marsh of Pompeii, which neighbours the salt-marshes of Hercules.

(It is exceedingly doubtful whether "Herculeis" in this passage refers to Herculaneum.[1])

Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, ix. 16. 6, ed. Wimmer, Teubner, 1854.

. . . *ταῦτα δὲ ἐξακριβωθῆναι μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς τοῖς ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.*

Translation of Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, ix. 16. 6.

(Discussing certain vegetable poisons and antidotes.)

. . . and they say that these questions have been most exactly worked out among the Etruscans (Tyrrhenoi) at Herakleia.

Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vi. 1, ed. Haase, 1851; Teubner, 1903.

Pompeios, celebrem Campaniae urbem, in quam ab altera parte Surrentinum Stabianumque litus, ab altera Herculanense conveniunt et mare ex aperto reductum amoeno sinu cingunt, consedisse terrae motu vexatis quaecumque adiacebant regionibus, Lucili virorum optime, audivimus, et quidem hibernis diebus, quos vacare a tali periculo

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[1] For a full discussion of the question cf. Sogliano, *Studi di Topografia storica e di Storia antica*, etc., Naples, 1901, pp. 42 ff.

maiores nostri solebant promittere. nonis Februariis hic fuit motus Regulo et Verginio Consulibus, qui Campaniam numquam securam huius mali, indemnem tamen et totiens defunctam metu, magna strage vastavit; nam et Herculanensis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quae relicta sunt, et Nucerinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita non sine querela est. Neapolis quidem privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leniter ingenti malo perstricta.

Ibid. vi. 26. 5.

Ob hoc et insulas esse certioris soli urbesque eo tutiores quo propius ad mare accesserunt. falsa haec esse Pompeii et Herculaneum sensere.

(For a full translation of these passages see Part I. Chapter III. p. 101.)

TACITUS, *Annals*, xv. 22.

Isdem consulibus (*i.e.* P. Mario, L. Afinio) . . . motu terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompeii magna ex parte proruit.

Translation of TACITUS, *Annals*, xv. 22.

In the consulship of the same consuls (*i.e.* Publius Marius and Lucius Afinius) Pompeii, a populous city of Campania, collapsed in great part through an earthquake.

PLINY, *Letters*, vi. 16, ed. Keil, Teubner, 1870.

C · PLINIVS · TACITO · SVO · S[1]

1. Petis ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. gratias ago: nam video morti eius, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. 2. quamvis enim pulcherrimarum clade terrarum, ut populi, ut urbes, memorabili casu quasi semper victurus occiderit, quamvis ipse plurima opera et mansura condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. 3. equidem beatos puto quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero quibus utrumque. horum in numero avunculus meus et suis libris et tuis erit. quo libentius suscipio, deposco etiam quod iniungis. 4. erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat. nonum Kal.[2] Septembres hora fere septima mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem inusitata et magnitudine et specie.[3]

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[1] Only the more important variants are noted.

[2] nonum Kal. Septembres hora fere septima *M*, nonum Kal. hora fere septima *Dp*, November Calend hora fere septima *r*, Kl. novembris hora fere septima *a*, a.d. VIIII Kalend. Septembres hora fere septima *G. H. Schaeferus.*

[3] et spe surgit illo ut esole solet frigida gustata jacens studebat usus ille sole mox frigida gustaverat iacens studebatque *r*, et specie surgit ille ut sole solebat frigida gustata iacens enim studebat *S*.

5. usus ille sole, mox frigida, gustaverat iacens studebatque : poscit[1] soleas, ascendit locum ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici poterat. nubes, incertum[2] procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia melius arbor quam pinus expresserit. 6. nam longissimo velut trunco elata[3] in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta aut etiam[4] pondere suo victa in latitudinem[5] vanescebat : candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat. 7. magnum propiusque noscendum, ut eruditissimo viro, visum. iubet liburnicam aptari : mihi, si venire una vellem, facit copiam : respondi studere me malle et forte ipse quod scriberem dederat. 8. egrediebatur domo : accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci[6] inminenti periculo exterritae (nam villa eius subiacebat, nec ulla nisi navibus fuga) : ut se tanto discrimini eriperet orabat. 9. vertit[7] ille consilium et quod studioso animo inchoaverat obit maximo. deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse non Rectinae modo[8] sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium. 10. properat illuc unde alii fugiunt rectumque cursum, recta gubernacula, in periculum tenet, adeo solutus metu, ut omnis illius mali motus, omnis figuras, ut deprenderat oculis, dictaret enotaretque. 11. iam navibus cinis incidebat[9] quo propius accederent[10] calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusti et fracti igne lapides, iam vadum subitum ruinaque montis litora obstantia. cunctatus paulum, an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori ut ita faceret monenti "fortes" inquit "fortuna iuvat, Pomponianum pete." 12. Stabiis erat, diremptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque[11] litoribus mare infunditur) : ibi, quamquam nondum periculo adproprinquante, conspicuo tamen et cum cresceret proximo, sarcinas

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[1] poscit *Ma*, poposcit *Dpr*.

[2] *sic MSa* (nube *D*), et incertum *Dpr*.

[3] elata *Ma*, flata *Dp*, eflata *r*, efflata *S*.

[4] aut etiam *MSa*, ut etiam *Dpr*.

[5] latitudinem *MSa*, altitudinem *Dpr*.

[6] egreditur *Casaubonus*, accepit *Dpr*, rectini tasci (rectini casci *D*, Rectinae Nasci *a*, imminenti periculo exterrite *nDa*. retine irasci imminenti periculo exterire *p*. Recine Itacesii) imminenti periculo exterritae *r*. rectina imminenti periculo exterrita *S*. *corrupta librorum scriptura nomen mulieris indicari videtur. de uxore Caesii Basii, quem ipsum ardente Vesuvio cum villa sua ustum esse tradit schol. Pers. Sat.* 6. 1, *cogitavit Hermolaus Barbarus, Castigat. Plin. init., eumque secuti Gesnerus et Gierigius scripserunt* accepit codicillos Rectinae Bassi (Rectinae Caesii Bassi *Gierigius*) imminenti periculo exterritae (nam villa eius subiacebat—fuga)—orabat. *Catanaeus* Retinam *de nomine* villae subiectae Miseno *accipiens edidit* accepit codicillos. Retinae classiarii inminenti periculo exterriti (nam villa ea subiacebat—fuga)—orabant. *inde* accepit codicillos. Retinae classis imminenti periculo exterrita (nam villa ei subiacebat—fuga)—orabat *coniecit Cortius*. accipit codicillos. Retina Caesii Bassi imminenti periculo exterriti, nam villa Vesuvio subiacebat, nec ulla nisi navibus fuga :—orabat *Jahnius in Pers. Sat.* 6. 1.

[7] vestit *D*, non vertit *S*.

[8] non rectine modo *MSa*, non rectine modum *Dp*, vero recina modo vetante *r*.

[9] incidebat *Ma*, inciderat *Dpr*.

[10] accederent *a*, accederet *Dpr*, accenderent *M*.

[11] curvatisque *MrSa*, turbatisque *Dp*.

contulerat in naves certus fugae, si contrarius ventus resedisset. quo tunc avunculus meus secundissimo invectus complectitur trepidantem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri[1] in balineum iubet: lotus accubat, cenat aut hilaris aut, quod aeque magnum, similis hilari. 13. interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus in locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis[2] excitabatur. ille agrestium trepidatione ignes relictas desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidinis dictitabat. tum se quieti dedit, et quievit verissimo quidem somno. nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis gravior et sonantior erat, ab iis qui limini obversabantur audiebatur. 14. sed area ex qua diaeta[3] adibatur ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. excitatus procedit seque Pomponiano ceterisque qui pervigilaverant reddit. 15. in commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant an in aperto vagentur. nam crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant et quasi emota sedibus suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abire aut referri videbantur. 16. sub dio[4] rursus quamquam levium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculorum[5] collatio[6] elegit.[7] et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. cervicalia capitibus imposita linteis constringunt: id munimentum adversus incidentia[8] fuit. 17. iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus nigrior densiorque, quam tamen faces multae variaque lumina solabantur. placuit egredi in litus et ex proximo aspicere, ecquid iam mare admitteret, quod adhuc vastum et adversum permanebat. 18. ibi super abiectum[9] linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam[10] poposcit hausitque. deinde flammae flammarumque praenuntius odor sulfuris alios in fugam vertunt, excitant illum. 19. innitens[11] servulis duobus adsurrexit et statim concidit, ut ego colligo,[12] crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus atque aestuans erat. 20. ubi dies redditus (is ab eo quem novissime viderat <erat>[13] tertius), corpus inventum integrum, inlaesum, opertumque, ut fuerat indutus: habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior. 21. interim Miseni ego et mater. sed nihil ad historiam, nec tu aliud quam de exitu eius scire voluisti. finem ergo faciam. 22. unum adiciam, omnia me quibus interfueram, quaeque statim, cum maxime vera memorantur, audieram persecutum, tu potissima excerpes. aliud est enim epistulam, aliud historiam, aliud amico, aliud omnibus scribere. vale.

[1] deferri se *Sa.*

[2] tenebras noctis (excipiebat *r*, pellebat *s*).

[3] diaeta *ra*, dicta *MS*, zeta *D.*

[4] sub dio *pS*, sub divo *ra*, sub die *M*, sub deo *D.*

[5] periculorum *M*, malorum *D.*

[6] collocatio *D.*

[7] eligit *M.*

[8] decidentia *a.*

[9] adiectum *Dp.*

[10] frigidam *DSa*, frigidam aquam *Mpr.*

[11] innitens servolis *M*, innixus servis *Dpra.*

[12] colligo *M*, coniecto *Dpra.*

[13] <erat> *Momms.*

PLINY, *Letters*, vi. 20.

C · PLINIVS · TACITO · SVO · S

1. Ais te adductum litteris meis quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi scripsi cupere cognoscere, quos ego Miseni relictus (id enim ingressus abruperam) non solum metus verum etiam casus pertulerim. quamquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam. 2. profecto avunculo ipse reliquum tempus studiis (ideo enim remanseram) impendi : mox balineum, cena, somnus inquietus et brevis. 3. praecesserat per multos dies tremor terrae minus formidolosus, quia Campaniae solitus. illa vero nocte ita invaluit ut non moveri omnia sed verti crederentur.[1] 4. inrumpit[2] cubiculum meum mater ; surgebam invicem, si quiesceret, excitaturus. residimus in area domus quae mare a tectis modico spatio dividebat. 5. dubito constantiam vocare an inprudentiam debeam (agebam enim duodevicensimum annum) : posco librum Titi Livi et quasi per otium lego atque etiam, ut coeperam, excerpo. ecce amicus avunculi, qui nuper ad eum ex Hispania venerat, ut me et matrem sedentes, me vero etiam legentem videt, illius patientiam securitatem meam corripit. nihilo segnius ego intentus in librum. 6. iam hora diei prima, et adhuc dubius et quasi languidus dies : iam quassatis[3] circumiacentibus tectis, quamquam in aperto loco, angusto tamen, magnus et certus ruinae metus. 7. tum demum excedere oppido visum : sequitur vulgus attonitum, quodque in pavore simile prudentiae, alienum consilium suo praefert ingentique agmine abeuntis premit et impellit. 8. egressi tecta consistimus. multa ibi miranda, multas formidines patimur. nam vehicula quae produci iusseramus, quamquam in planissimo campo, in contrarias partes agebantur ac ne lapidibus quidem fulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant. 9. praeterea mare in se resorberi et tremore terrae quasi repelli[4] videbamus. certe processerat litus, multaque animalia maris siccis harenis detinebat. ab altero latere nubes atra et horrenda ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta in longas flammarum figuras dehiscebat : fulguribus illae et similes et maiores erant. 10. tum vero idem ille ex Hispania amicus acrius et instantius "si frater" inquit "tuus, tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos ; si periit, superstites voluit. proinde quid cessatis

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[1] quia Campaniae solitus illa (ille *Dp*) vero nocte ita inualuit ut non moueri omnia sed uerti (sed euerti *a*) crederentur *Dpra* q (*h.e.* quia) campanie non solum castella uerum etiam oppida non moueri omnia sed uerti credebantur *M.* qui Campaniae non solum castella verum etiam oppida vexare solitus : illa vero nocte ita invaluit ut non moueri omnia sed euerti credentur *vulgo ex Catanaei editione secunda.* quia Campaniae solitus : illa uero nocte ita inualuit, ut non solum castella uerum etiam oppida omnia, non moueri sed everti crederentur *N. Heinsius in Ovid, Metamm.* vii. 492.

[2] irrumpit cubiculum *pSa,* inrumpit cubiculum *r,* inrupit cubiculum *D,* inuasit in cubiculum *M.*

[3] quassata omnia *M.*

[4] revelli *M.*

evadere?" respondimus non commissuros nos ut de salute illius incerti nostrae consuleremus. 11. non moratus ultra proripit se effusoque cursu periculo aufertur. nec multo post illa nubes descendere in terras, operire maria: cinxerat Capreas et absconderat, Miseni quod procurrit abstulerat. 12. tum mater orare, hortari, iubere quoquo modo fugerem; posse enim iuvenem, se et annis et corpore gravem bene morituram, si mihi causa mortis non fuisset, ego contra salvum me nisi una non futurum: dein manum eius amplexus addere gradum cogo. 13. paret aegre incusatque se, quod me moretur. iam cinis, adhuc tamen rarus: respicio; densa caligo tergis imminebat, quae nos torrentis modo infusa terrae sequebatur. "deflectamus" inquam "dum videmus ne in via strati comitantium turba in tenebris obteramur." 14. vix consideramus, et nox, non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine extincto. audires ululatus feminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores virorum: alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscitabant: 15. hi suum casum, illi suorum miserabantur: erant qui metu mortis mortem precarentur: multi ad deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur. nec defuerunt qui fictis mentitisque terroribus vera pericula augerent. aderant qui Miseni illud ruisse, illud ardere, falso, sed credentibus nuntiabant. 16. paulum reluxit, quod non dies nobis, sed adventantis ignis indicium videbatur. et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus[1] et gravis. hunc identidem exsurgentes excutiebamus; operti alioqui atque etiam oblisi pondere essemus. 17. possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non vocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire misero, magno tamen mortis solacio credidissem. 18. tandem illa caligo tenuata quasi in fumum nebulamve discessit: mox dies verus, sol etiam effulsit, luridus tamen, qualis esse, cum deficit, solet. occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia, altoque cinere tamquam nive obducta. 19. regressi Misenum curatis utcumque corporibus suspensam dubiamque noctem spe ac metu exigimus. metus praevalebat; nam et tremor terrae perseverabat, et plerique lymphati terrificis vaticinationibus et sua et aliena mala ludificabantur. 20. nobis tamen ne tunc quidem, quamquam et expertis periculum et exspectantibus abeundi consilium, donec de avunculo nuntius. haec nequaquam historia digna non scripturus leges et tibi, scilicet qui requisisti, imputabis, si digna ne epistula quidem videbantur. vale.

(For a full translation of both these letters see Part I. Chapter III. pp. 103 ff.)

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[1] cinis rursus multus et *Ma*, tumultus *Dp*.

SUETONIUS, ed. Roth, Teubner, 1893, p. 300.

Periit clade Campaniae (*i.e.* Plinius Secundus Novocomensis); cum enim Misenensi classi praeesset et flagrante Vesubio ad explorandas propius causas liburnica praetendisset, nec adversantibus ventis remeare posset, vi pulveris ac favillae oppressus est, vel ut quidam existimant a servo suo occisus, quem aestu deficiens ut necem sibi maturaret oraverat.

Translation of SUETONIUS, ed. Roth, p. 300.

(Plinius Secundus of Novum Comum) died in the Campanian disaster; for, being in command of the fleet at Misenum, he advanced in a brigantine during the eruption of Vesuvius to investigate the nature of the phenomenon more closely, but was prevented from returning by unfavourable winds: and was overwhelmed by the quantities of dust and ash, or, as some suppose, he was slain by his slave, whom he had begged, as the heat overcame him, to hasten his death.

CASSIUS DIO, lxvi. 21, 22, 23, 24 (= XIPHILINUS, *Epitome Dionis*, 212-215), ed. Boissevain, Berlin, 1901, vol. iii. pp. 156 ff.

XX. ἐν μὲν τῇ Βρεταννίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Τίτος αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἐπεκλήθη, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρικόλας ἔν τε ἀτιμίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ, ἅτε καὶ μείζονα ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καταπράξας, ἔζησε, καὶ τέλος ἐσφάγη δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιανοῦ καίπερ τὰς ἐπινικίους τιμὰς παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου[1] λαβών.

XXI. 1. ἐν δὲ τῇ Καμπανίᾳ φοβερά τινα καὶ θαυμαστὰ συνηνέχθη· πῦρ γὰρ μέγα κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἐξαπιναίως ἐξήφθη. τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ Βέσβιον[2] ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Νέαν πόλιν, ἔχει δὲ πυρὸς πηγὰς ἀφθόνους. καὶ ἦν μέν ποτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ὑψηλόν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέσου τὸ πῦρ ἀνέτελλε· ταύτῃ γὰρ πεπύρωται μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἄπυρα καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένει.

2. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, ἐκείνων μὲν ἀκαύστων ἀεὶ ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κραυρουμένων καὶ τεφρουμένων, αἱ <μὲν>[3] πέριξ κορυφαὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὕψος ἐς δεῦρο ἔχουσι, τὸ δὲ ἔμπυρον πᾶν δαπανηθὲν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ κοῖλον ἐκ τοῦ συνίζειν γέγονεν, ὥστε κυνηγετικῷ τινι θεάτρῳ τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν, ὡς μικρὰ

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[1] *παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου* Causaub. ad uet. Domit. coll. Tac. Agr. 40, potius *παρ' αὐτοῦ Τίτου* Polak.

[2] Βέσβιον: ita hic et c. 22. 1 V. C. Zon. *βαιβίω* et *βαίβιον* 76, 21. 2 (V. C.), eadem forma *βέσβιον* (quam sua aetate obtinuisse refert Galen, Meth. Med. v. 12) Strab. i. 2. 18, p. 26 (sed Οὐέσουιον v. 4. 8, p. 247, ita c, *οὐεσσουίον* A, *οὐεσσούνιον* B). App. B. C. i. 116, Plut. ser. num. vind. 22, p. 566, etc., *Οὐσεούιος* Diod. iv. 21.

[3] <*μὲν*> add. Bekk. ex Zon.

μεγάλοις εἰκάσαι, ἐοικέναι. 3. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄκρα καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς ἔχει, ὁ δὲ δὴ κύκλος ἀνεῖται τῷ πυρί, καὶ ἀναδίδωσι τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας καπνὸν τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς φλόγα, ὥστε δόξαι πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ παντοδαπὰ θυμιᾶσθαι θυμιάματα. 4. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἀεί, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ ἧττον γίγνεται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τέφραν ἀναβάλλει, ὅταν ἀθρόον τι ὑφιζήσῃ, καὶ λίθους ἀναπέμπει, ὅταν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἐκβιασθῇ. ἠχεῖ τε καὶ βοᾷ, ἅτε μὴ συμπεπιλημένας ἀλλ' ἀραιὰς καὶ λαθραίας[1] τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἔχων.[2]

XXII. 1. τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ Βέσβιόν ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος ὡς πλήθει γίγνεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκείνῳ ⟨ἐν⟩[3] τῷ χρόνῳ συνηνέχθη, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς τοῖς ἀεὶ ὁρῶσιν αὐτὰ εἶναι ἔδοξε, σμικρὰ ἂν πρὸς τὰ τότε συμβάντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα εἰς ἓν συνηνεχθέντα νομισθείη. ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. 2. ἄνδρες πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβεβληκότες, οἷοι οἱ γίγαντες γράφονται, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦτο δ' ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτὸ χώρᾳ ταῖς τε πόλεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ περινοστοῦντες καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι διαφοιτῶντες ἐφαντάζοντο. 3. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὐχμοί[4] τε δεινοὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ ἐξαίφνης σφοδροὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀναβράττεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀναπηδᾶν· ἠχαί τε αἱ μὲν ὑπόγειοι βρονταῖς ἐοικυῖαι αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπίγειοι μυκηθμοῖς ὅμοιαι συνέβαινον, καὶ ἥ τε θάλασσα συνέβρεμε καὶ ὁ οὔρανος συνεπήχει. 4. κἀκ τούτου κτύπος τε ἐξαίσιος ἐξαπιναίως ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν συμπιπτόντων ἐξηκούσθη, καὶ ἀνέθορον πρῶτον μὲν λίθοι ὑπερμεγέθεις, ὥστε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐξικέσθαι, ἔπειτα πῦρ πολὺ καὶ καπνὸς ἄπλετος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὸν ἀέρα συσκιασθῆναι, πάντα δὲ τὸν ἥλιον συγκρυφθῆναι καθάπερ ἐκλελοιπότα.

XXIII. 1. νύξ τε οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ σκότος ἐκ φωτὸς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ μὲν τοὺς γίγαντας ἐπανίστασθαι (πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τότε εἴδωλα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καπνῷ διεφαίνετο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ σαλπίγγων τις βοὴ ἠκούετο), οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς χάος ἢ καὶ πῦρ τὸν κόσμον πάντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι. 2. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἔφυγον οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν εἴσω, ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἷα[5] τεταραγημένοι[6] καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπὸν ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦ πάροντος ἡγούμενοι. 3. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ τέφρα ἀμύθητος ἀνεφυσήθη καὶ τήν τε γῆν τήν τε θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πάντα κατέσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ χώραις καὶ βοσκήμασιν ἐλυμήνατο, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἰχθύας τά τε ὄρνεα πάντα διέφθειρε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας, τό τε Ἑρκουλάνεον καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίους, ἐν θεάτρῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου αὐτῆς[7] καθημένου, κατέχωσε. 4. τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κόνις ἐγένετο ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἦλθε μὲν καὶ ἐς

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[1] λαθραίας V. C , ἐλευθέρας Zon.

[2] ἔχων V. C., ἔχον Zon.

[3] ⟨ἐν⟩ ins. Bk.

[4] ἄνεμοι Bk. immerito, cf. Thuc. i. 23. 3.

[5] οἷα Bk., οἱ ἄλλοι V. C., an οἷα ἄλλως vel adeo οἷα ἐν ἀλλήλοις retento τε ταραττόμενοι.

[6] τεταραγμένοι Bk., τε ταραττόμενοι V. C.

[7] αὐτῆς V. C., αὐτῶν Zon.

Ἀφρικὴν καὶ <ἐς>[1] *Συρίαν καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἦλθε*[2] *δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τόν τε ἀέρα τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπεσκίασε.* 5. *καὶ συνέβη κἀνταῦθα δέος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς*[3] *ἡμέρας οὔτ᾽ εἰδόσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ γεγονὸς οὔτ᾽ εἰκάσαι δυναμένοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω μεταστρέφεσθαι,*[4] *καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀφανίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιέναι.*

XXIV. 1. *ἡ μὲν οὖν τέφρα αὕτη οὐδὲν μέγα τότε κακὸν αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο (ὕστερον γὰρ νόσον σφίσι λοιμώδη δεινὴν ἐνέβαλε), πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης, τοῦ Τίτου πρὸς τὸ πάθημα τὸ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ γενόμενον ἐκδημήσαντος ἐπενείματο·* . . . 3. *ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Τίτος τοῖς μὲν Καμπανοῖς δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων οἰκιστὰς ἔπεμψε, καὶ χρήματα ἄλλα τε καὶ τὰ* [*χρήματα*][5] *τῶν ἄνευ κληρονόμων τεθνηκότων ἐδωρήσατο αὐτὸς δέ κ.τ.λ.*

Most of this is also preserved in Zonaras. The only important difference is at the beginning, where Zonaras reads *ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτει πῦρ ἐν Καμπανίᾳ πολὺ κατὰ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἄθροον ἐξήνθησε* (Zon. 11. 18, p. 496, 19. 20 B, p. 55, 28-30 D).

(For a full translation of the passage of Xiphilinus see Part I. Chapter III. p. 107.)

The passage of Zonaras may be translated thus :—

But in the first year of his reign in the autumn season a great fire burst forth of a sudden in Campania.

SUETONIUS, *Titus* § 8, ed. Roth, 1857 ; Teubner, 1893.

Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesvii montis in Campania. . . . in iis tot adversis ac talibus non modo principis sollicitudinem sed et parentis affectum unum praestitit, nunc consolando per edicta, nunc opitulando quatenus suppeteret facultas. curatores restituendae Campaniae e consularium numero sorte duxit; bona oppressorum in Vesvio, quorum heredes non extabant, restitutioni afflictarum civitatium attribuit.

Translation of SUETONIUS, *Titus* § 8.

In his (*i.e.* Titus') reign certain unforeseeable disasters occurred, such as the bursting into flame of the mountain Vesuvius in Campania. . . . In all these terrible calamities he displayed not only the anxiety of a ruler but even the sympathy of a parent, now by consolatory edicts, now by all the assistance which his resources permitted him to give. He chose by lot from the ranks of the *consulares* commissioners for the restoration of Campania; he devoted the goods of those victims of Vesuvius who had left no heirs to the restoration of the states ruined.

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[1] *ἐς* Bk. ex Zon.

[2] *ἦλθε* Bekk., *ἐσῆλθε* V. C.

[3] *πολλὰς ἡμέρας* H. SC., *πολλαῖς* . . . *αἷς* V. C.

[4] *μεταστρέφεσθαι* Bk., *καταστρέφεσθαι* V. C., *στρέφεσθαι* Dind.

[5] *χρήματα* secl. R. St., nec habet Zon.

TACITUS, *Hist.* i. 2.

Hausta aut obruta fecundissima Campaniae ora.

Translation of TACITUS, *Hist.* i. 2.

The most fertile coast of Campania was swallowed or overwhelmed.

MARTIAL iv. 44, ed. Gilbert, Teubner, 1901.

hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius[1] umbris,
  presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus.
haec iuga, quam Nysae collis, plus Bacchus amavit,
  hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.
haec Veneris sedes, Lacedaemone gratior illi,
  hic locus Herculeo nomine[2] clarus erat.
cuncta iacent flammis et tristi mersa favilla:
  nec superi vellent hoc licuisse sibi.

(For a full translation of this epigram see Part I. Chapter III. p. 108.)

STATIUS, *Silvae* iv. 4. 78-85, ed. Vollmer, Teubner, 1898.

haec ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
litoribus, fractas ubi Vesuius erigit[3] iras
aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.
mira fides! credetne virum ventura propago,
cum segetes iterum, cum iam haec deserta virebunt,
infra urbes populosque premi proauitaque tosto[4]
rura abiisse mari? necdum letale minari
cessat apex.

(For a full translation of this passage see Part I. Chapter III. p. 109.)

[1] Vesbius *TOFABEG* (cf. *P*), *Schneidewin*; Vesvius *X*, *Scriverius*, *Schneidewin*.

[2] nomine *TPQ* (? *C*), *Scriverius*, *Gilbert*; numine *CaF*, *Schneidewin*.

[3] eriget, erigit *Rc*, egerit *Avantius*.

[4] toto *corr. Vollmer*, tota *Grasberger*.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, *To Himself*, 4. 48, ed. Stich, Teubner, 1903.

πόσαι δὲ πόλεις ὅλαι, ἵν᾽ οὕτως εἴπω, τεθνήκασιν, Ἑλίκη καὶ Πομπήϊοι καὶ Ἡρκλάνον[1] *καὶ ἄλλαι ἀναρίθμητοι.*

STRABO, p. 247, ed. Meineke, 1852; Teubner, 1866.

ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν τόπων τούτων ὄρος τὸ Οὐεσούιον, ἀγροῖς περιοικούμενον παγκάλοις πλὴν τῆς κορυφῆς· αὕτη δὲ ἐπίπεδος μὲν πολὺ μέρος ἐστίν, ἄκαρπος δὲ ὅλη, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὄψεως τεφρώδης, καὶ κοιλάδας φαίνει σηραγγώδεις πετρῶν αἰθαλωδῶν κατὰ τὴν χρόαν, ὡς ἂν ἐκβεβρωμένων ὑπὸ πυρός, ὡς τεκμαίροιτ᾽ ἄν τις τὸ χώριον τοῦτο καίεσθαι πρότερον καὶ ἔχειν κρατῆρας πυρός, σβεσθῆναι δ᾽ ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς ὕλης. τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκαρπίας τῆς κύκλῳ τοῦτ᾽ αἴτιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Κατάνῃ, φασί, τὸ κατατεφρωθὲν μέρος ἐκ τῆς σπόδου ἀνενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰτναίου πυρὸς εὐάμπελον τὴν γῆν ἐποίησεν.

(For a full translation of this passage see Part I. Chapter III. p. 99.)

VITRUVIUS, II. vi. 2, ed. Rose, Teubner, 1899.

Non minus etiam memorantur antiquitus crevisse ardores et abundavisse sub Vesuvio monte et inde evomuisse circa agros flammam.

Translation of VITRUVIUS, II. vi. 2.

In the same way it is even recorded that in old days fires swelled and surged beneath Mount Vesuvius, and thence vomited flames over the country.

PLUTARCH, *Crassus* ix., ed. Sintenis, 1841.

ἔπειτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχιλίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοὺς ἐν ὄρει μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ στενὴν ἄνοδον, ἣν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἄμπελον δὲ πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιπολῆς πεφυκυῖαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν κλημάτων τὰ χρήσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὥστ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἐπιπέδων κατέβαινον ἀσφαλῶς . . .

Translation of PLUTARCH, *Crassus* ix.

Thereafter Clodius was sent from Rome in command of three thousand men, and besieged them in a mountain that had a single approach, which he guarded, and for the rest nothing but sheer precipices and smooth cliffs, and many wild vines growing upon its face; but they cut such vine-shoots as would serve their turn and wove them into ladders, firm and long, so that, being let down from above, by reason of the steepness of the cliffs they touched the plain; and thus they got safely down.

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[1] Ἡράκλανον vulgate, Ἡρκλάνον A (=Vaticanus, 1950).

FLORUS, iii. 20. 3

Spartacus, Crixus, Oenomaus, effracto Lentuli ludo, cum triginta haud amplius eiusdem fortunae viris erupere Capuam; servisque ad auxilium vocatis, cum statim decem amplius millia coissent homines, non modo effugisse contenti, iam vindicari volebant. Prima sedes velut beluis mons Vesuvius placuit. Ibi cum obsiderentur a Clodio Glabroque, per fauces cavi montis vitineis delapsi vinculis, ad imas eius descendere radices; et exitu inviso, nihil tale opinantis ducis subito impetu castra rapuerunt.

Translation of FLORUS, iii. 20. 3

Spartacus, Crixus, and Oenomaus broke from Lentulus' training-school with not more than thirty men in the same plight, and escaped to Capua: there they called the slaves to their assistance. More than ten thousand men joined them, whereupon they ceased to think merely of escape, and began to wish for revenge. The first position which they chose—after the manner of wild beasts—was the mountain Vesuvius. Being besieged there by Clodius and Glaber, they slid down the chasms of the hollow mountain on chains of wild vine, and reached its lowest slopes: their escape was unperceived, and by a sudden and quite unexpected onslaught they completely surprised the Roman leader, and carried the camp.

FRONTINUS, *Strategemata*, i. 5. 21.

Idem (*i.e.* Spartacus), in Vesuio obsessus ex parte qua mons asperrimus adeoque incustoditus, ex uimine siluestri catenas conseruit: quibus demissus non solum euasit, verum etiam ex alio latere Clodium ita terruit ut aliquot cohortes gladiatoribus quattuor et septuaginta cesserint.

Translation of FRONTINUS, *Strategemata*, i. 5. 21.

The same Spartacus, being besieged on Vesuvius, wove chains of wild vine at a place where the mountain was steepest, and on that account unguarded; and by these he let himself down, and not only escaped, but actually gave Clodius such a fright by an attack upon another flank, that several cohorts fled before seventy-four gladiators.

Velleius Paterculus, i. 7, ed. Halm, Teubner, 1876.

Nam quidam huius temporis tractu aiunt a Tuscis Capuam Nolamque conditam ante annos fere octingentos et triginta. quibus equidem adsenserim : sed M. Cato quantum differt ! qui dicat Capuam ab eisdem Tuscis esse conditam ac subinde Nolam ; stetisse autem Capuam antequam a Romanis caperetur, annis circiter ducentis et sexaginta. quod si ita est, cum sint a Capua capta anni ducenti et quadraginta, ut condita est, anni sunt fere quingenti. ego, pace diligentiae Catonis dixerim, vix crediderim tam mature tantam urbem crevisse floruisse concidisse resurrexisse.

Translation of Velleius Paterculus, i. 7.

For some say that the Tuscans founded Capua and Nola in this period, some eight hundred and thirty years ago. With these I should personally agree : but how different is the opinion of Marcus Cato ! For he says as they do that the Tuscans founded Capua and thereafter Nola ; but that Capua had stood about two hundred and sixty years before she was captured by Rome. Now if that is true, it follows that since it is two hundred and forty years since the capture of Capua, it is about five hundred years since its foundation. Personally, though I speak with all deference to Cato's industry, I can scarcely believe that the growth, bloom, and downfall of so great a city were so rapidly accomplished.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PRINCIPAL OBJECTS WHICH CAN BE IDENTIFIED AS COMING FROM HERCULANEUM

We begin with those in the National Museum at Naples. The order followed is that of Monaco's *Handbook of the Antiquities of the Naples Museum*, English translation by Neville-Rolfe, 14th ed., Naples, 1908. Otherwise the list is entirely based on the direct study of the Inventories, and the descriptions are simply those there given without any attempt to revise or amend.

Since this list was drawn up the official Guide to the Museum of Naples (*Guida del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*) has appeared. In this work there are divergences in assigning the origin of some articles to that given by us. We have noted these divergences in the following forms. For instance :—

[*G.* 2 (6377)] indicates the presence at that point of the itinerary of an item, No. 2 in the consecutive numbers of the *Guida*, No. 6377 in the Inventory.

[*G.* no orig. 219] indicates that the *Guida*, where this item appears as No. 219, gives no origin to it.

[*G.* orig. Farnese, 226] indicates that the origin assigned in the *Guida* is Farnese.

The itinerary followed by the *Guida* is at various points different from that of Monaco's *Handbook*, and consequently these entries from it are only approximately exact in position. We have also added the number given in the *Guida*, e.g. (*G.* 217), to all our numbers where the items were identified by the authors of the *Guida* as coming from Herculaneum.

The asterisk before any item in this list signifies that the object has come from the Villa Suburbana. The "Relabelling" noted in certain cases is that carried out by the Commission recently at work at Naples.

VESTIBULE

[*G.* 2 (6377).]

LEFT AISLE OF THE CENTRAL HALL

MARBLE SCULPTURES

To the left—

6168. (Relabelled.) Viciria Arcas, mother of the proconsul Nonius Balbus. Marble statue. Hgt. 2.20. (*G.* 20.)

To the right—

6244. Marble female statue, draped. Hgt. 1.82. (*G.* 22.)

In the centre—

6211. (Relabelled.) Marcus Nonius Balbus, the father. Marble equestrian statue. Hgt. 2.60. (*G.* 23.)

To the right—

6248. Marble female statue, draped. Hgt. 1.75. (*G.* 27.)

To the left—

6246. Marble male statue. M. Nonius Balbus, fil. Hgt. 2.02. (*G.* 24.)

To the right—

6394. Marble statue. Clio, standing; papyrus in left hand. Hgt. 2.00. (*G.* 30.)

RIGHT AISLE OF THE CENTRAL HALL

To the right—

6252. Marble male statue; toga; papyrus in left hand (supposed Sylla). Hgt. 1.70. (*G.* 69.)

6167. (Relabelled.) Marcus Nonius Balbus, the father. Marble statue. Hgt. 2.20. (*G.* 60.)

To the left—

6242. Marble female statue. Hgt. 1.80. (*G.* 63.)

In the centre—

6104. (Relabelled.) Marcus Nonius Balbus, the son. Marble equestrian statue. The head is restored. Hgt. 2.60. (*G.* 59.)

To the right—

6240.* Marble female statue, veiled. Hgt. 2.25. (*G.* 57.)

To the left—

6249. Female statue, marble, draped. Hgt. 1.70. (*G.* 58.)

6250. Female statue, marble, draped. Hgt. 2.00. (*G.* 51.)

[*Also in Central Hall—*

G. 12 (3737); 19 (6871); 21 (6872); 25 (3757); 35 (3740); 46 (3742); 52 (3734); 53 (3735); 55 (3732); 56 (3733); 61 (3731); 62 (3736); 65 (6873); 66 (3752); 67 (3758); 72 (3741). Inscriptions.]

GROUND FLOOR—EAST WING

FIRST PORTICO

MARBLE SCULPTURES

ARCHAIC SCULPTURES

To the right—

6007.* (Relabelled.) Pallas fighting. Archaistic style or copy of Archaic statue. Marble statue. Hgt. 2.00. (*G.* 101.)

[*G.* 108 (6484).]

At the end—

6324. Herm, bearded Bacchus, marble. Hgt. 1.68. (*G.* 115.)

We leave the First Portico by a door to the right in the centre.

INNER HALLS

First Hall

To the left—

6282. Pallas. Herm, draped, with Medusa on visor of helmet, marble. Hgt. 0.58. [*G.* ? modern, 117.]

To the right—

6322.* (Relabelled.) Pallas. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.50. [*G.* ? modern, 116.]

To the right—

5997. (Relabelled.) Aphrodite, from a fifth-century original. Marble. Hgt. 1.75. (*G.* 121.)

We leave this Hall by the opening to the left, and passing through the Second Hall (none), reach the Third Hall.

Hall of Athena

On a column in the centre—

6369. (Relabelled.) Aphrodite, from a fifth-century original. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.60. (*G.* 139.)

[Also *G.* 129 (6123); 132 (6395); 135 (6261); 136 (6396); 137 (6121).]

Returning through the Second and First Hall we reach the

FOURTH HALL (Period of Polykleitos)

6412. (Relabelled.) "Doryphoros." Marble head, from the original of Polykleitos. Hgt. 1.87. (*G.* 147.)
6164.* (Relabelled.) Herakles, after an original by Polykleitos (?). Hgt. 0.50. (*G.* 148.)
[Also *G.* 145 (6725), marble relief.]

Beyond the Fourth Hall lies the

HALL OF THE MOSAICS

?9984. Mosaic picture. River deity; two other figures. (Stone.) Hgt. 0.42; width 0.42. (Origin doubtful.)
?10005. Mosaic picture. Phrixus and Helle; agitated sea; rocks. Phrixus on ram extends hand towards Helle. (Stone and glass.) Hgt. 0.51; width 1.59. (Origin doubtful.)
[Also *G.* 170 (9988); 201 (10008). Mosaics.]

Leaving the Fourth Hall, we return through the First Hall to the First Portico, and pass into the

SMALL ROOM BEYOND THE FIRST PORTICO

On a column to the right—
6317. Marble herm. Bacchus with beard. Hgt. 0.52. (*G.* 221.)
6308. Marble herm. Bacchus with beard, curled hair. Hgt. 0.32. [*G.* no orig. 219.]
[Also *G.* 217 (6272).]

SECOND PORTICO

HALL OF THE FARNESE FLORA (Period of Praxiteles and Lysippus)

Against the wall to the right—
6399. (Head modern.) Thalia. Marble statue; weight in right and mask in left hand. Hgt. 1.78. [*G.* orig. Farnese, 226.]
6378. Mnemosyne. Marble statue, fully draped. Hgt. 2.12. (*G.* 227.)
[Also *G.* 222 (no number) ? orig.
229 (6357).
230 (6356).]

By the opening to the right in the centre of the portico, we pass into the Great Hall, and, turning to the left, enter

Room of the Venus of Capua

Against pilasters, on columns of cipollino marble. To the right—

6274. (Relabelled.) Ammon. Hgt. 0.43. (*G.* 267.)

And to the left—

6320. Pallas. Marble herm, with cuirass and helmet. Hgt. 0.32. (*G.* 252.)

[Also *G.* 276 (6138).]

We now reverse our direction and go down the Hall into the

Room of the Farnese Hercules

To the left we see—

6724. (Relabelled.) Satyr and Maenad. Marble relief. Hgt. 1.49; width 0.92. (*G.* 285.)

6728. Seated Dionysos. Marble relief. Head restored. Hgt. 1.30; width 1.05. (*G.* 290.)

[Also *G.* 281 (6726).]

Room of Venus Callipyge

[*G.* 312 (6283) ? orig.]

We now retrace our steps in the direction of the Farnese Bull, and re-enter the Hall of the Flora Farnese, turn to the right, then to the left, and enter

THE THIRD PORTICO

Hall of Diana of Ephesus

Leaving this room by an opening to the right, in the centre, we pass into the

Interior Rooms (Bas-Reliefs and Decorative Fragments)

[Here are *G.* 478 (6255). Statue.
502 (6689). Relief.
567 (6690). Relief.
643 (no number). (Lower part of seated statue.)]

Turning to the left, we enter the

Third Room (containing Canova's Colossal Marble Statue of Ferdinando IV. as Minerva)

6124. Pyrrhus. Marble statue with cuirass and helmet. Hgt. 2.35. (*G.* 648.)

Returning to the Hall of Diana of Ephesus, we leave it to cross the Central Hall, on the opposite side of which we enter

GROUND FLOOR—WEST WING

FIRST PORTICO

MARBLE SCULPTURES

GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITURE

In the centre—

6210.* Orator. Marble statue, draped, chest bare, right hand extended. Hgt. 2.05. (*G.* 1150.)

On the right—

6188.* Female herm, veiled. Hgt. 0.47. (*G.* 1149.)

6156.* (Relabelled.) Archidamus II., King of Sparta. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.56. (*G.* 1148.)

6126.* Marble statue. Homer, standing, leaning on a stick. Hgt. 1.98. (*G.* 1147.)

6149.* (Relabelled.) Demetrius Poliorketes. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.43. (*G.* 1146.)

On the left—

6148.* Marble herm, without beard, turned to the right. Supposed Attilius Regulus. Hgt. 0.43. [*G.* orig. Farnese, 1151.]

6158.* Marble herm, without beard. Ptolemy Soter. Hgt. 0.58. (*G.* 1152.)

6151.* Marble herm. Young warrior with helmet. Hgt. 0.55. (*G.* 1153.)

6105.* (Rugg.) Marble statue of boy, standing, nude. Hgt. 1.29. (*G.* 1145.)

[Also *G.* 1141 (6147).]

To the right—

6150.* (Relabelled.) Pyrrhus. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.48. (*G.* 1144.)

6155.* Marble herm. Philosopher. Hgt. 0.52. (*G.* 1140.)

6018.* (Relabelled.) Aeschines. Marble statue. Hgt. 2.20. (*G.* 1139.)

6154.* Marble herm, with beard and full hair. Supposed Juba the Elder. Hgt. 0.54. (*G.* 1138.)

[Also *G.* 1136 (6162).]

To the left—

6153.* Marble herm. Called Demosthenes. Hgt. 0.52. [*G.* declares not D. 1142.]

6152.* Marble herm. Philosopher; supposed Zeno of Citium. Hgt. 0.51. (*G.* 1143.)

6144. Marble herm. Supposed Periander of Corinth. Hgt. 0.54. (*G.* 1137.)

6157. Marble herm. Called Themistocles, with cuirass. Hgt. 0.70. [*G.* considers not T. 1134.]

On the right—

6414. (Relabelled.) Euripides. Marble head on restored herm. Hgt. 0.96. (*G.* 1127.)

On the left—

6163. Marble herm. Philosopher. Hgt. 0.52. [*G.* orig. Farnese, 1120.]

SECOND PORTICO

Turning to the left.

[Here are *G.* 974 (6192); *G.* 986 (6056).]

On the right—

6059. (Relabelled.) Titus. Marble statue. Head and neck restored. Hgt. 2.18. (*G.* 969.)

6043. (Relabelled.) Tiberius. Marble bust. Hgt. 0.60. (*G.* 966.)

6040. Seated statue of Augustus. Marble. Hgt. 2.15; width 1.59. (*G.* 965.)

Retracing our steps, and following the same portico in the opposite direction.

[Here are *G.* 1097 (6201); *G.* 1104 (6245).]

To the left—

6204. Modern marble bust with antique head. Supposed Lucius C. Lentulus. Hgt. without pedestal, 0.44. [*G.* orig. Farnese, 1102.]

At the end of this portico (west wing) we turn to the left, and enter the Inner Halls.

FIRST ROOM

MARBLE SCULPTURES

BUSTS

On the right—

6209. Modern marble bust on herm, with antique head; no beard. Hgt. 0.50.

On a pillar beyond the window—

6200. Marble male bust, draped; no beard. Hgt. without pedestal, 0.48.

Upper shelf at the end of the room—

6174. Modern marble bust, undraped, with antique male head; no beard. Supposed Titus Vespasianus. Hgt. 0.48.

Upper shelf farther on—

6247. Marble female bust. Terentia. (Companion to 6245.) Hgt. without pedestal, 0.36. (*G.* 1058.)

Passing through the Second and Third Rooms, we reach the

[*G.* 1006 (6064).]

FOURTH ROOM

In the right-hand corner opposite—

6050. Marble bust. ? Caligula as a youth. Hgt. without pedestal, 0.35. [Has received various appellations, *G.* 1001.]

[Here also *G.* 996 (6045).]

Passing through the Fifth Room, we reach the

SIXTH ROOM

and see in a glass case on a pillar in the centre—

110127. Bust of silver (restored). Emperor Galba. (*G.* 963.)

We now turn to the left, then to the right, then to the left, and reach the

FIRST ROOM OF THE POMPEIAN BRONZES

4890. ? Bull, bronze, fine green patina, served for jet of water. Hgt. 0.39. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 826.]

Passing through the Second Room of the Pompeian Bronzes, we reach the

THIRD ROOM

BRONZES OF HERCULANEUM

Opposite the door we see—

5625.* (Relabelled.) Hermes in repose. Bronze statue. Hgt. 1.15. (*G.* 841.)

Farther on in a corresponding position—

5624.* Sleeping faun. Bronze statue, size of nature; youthful figure, undraped; stone base modern. Hgt. 1.42. (*G.* 842.)

In the centre on a long pedestal—

5604,* 5605, 5619, 5620, 5621. (Relabelled.) Decorative bronze statues. 'The Dancing Maidens,' from fifth-century B.C. originals. [*G.* no orig. 843 ff.]

Behind the 'Dancers,' on two pillars—

5594.* (Relabelled.) Athlete, Theseus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.50. (*G.* 848.)

5592.* (Relabelled.) Artemis, 'Berenice.' Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.51. (*G.* 849.)

To the right on a long pedestal—

4885. (Relabelled.) Doryphoros of Polykleitos (copy by Apollonius of Athens). Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.53. (*G.* 854.)

5610.* (Relabelled.) Ideal head, style of the fourth century B.C. Bronze. Hgt. 0.45. (*G.* 855.)

4889.* (Relabelled.) Amazon; from an original of the fifth century B.C. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.51. (*G.* 856.)

In front of the window—

5618.* (Relabelled.) Dionysos. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.48. (*G.* 857.)

5608.* (Relabelled.) Ideal head, archaic style. Bronze. Hgt. 0.43. (*G.* 850.)

On a pedestal against the remaining side wall to the right—

5633.* (Relabelled.) Ephebus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.34. (*G.* 851.)

5603.* (Relabelled.) Girl praying; from an original of the fifth century B.C. Bronze statue. Hgt. 1.22. (*G.* 852.)

5614.* (Relabelled.) Herakles. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.40. (*G.* 853.)

FOURTH ROOM

HERCULANEUM BRONZES (*continued*)

5628.* (Relabelled.) Drunken satyr. Bronze statue. Hgt. 1.79. (*G.* 858.)

4886,* 4888.* Two gazelles. Bronze. Hgt. 0.76. (*G.* 860, 859.)

5626,* 5627.* (Relabelled.) ? Wrestlers. Bronze statues. Hgt. 1.18. (*G.* 861, 862.)

On two side walls—

5020,* 5021, 5032, etc. (Unnumbered.) Ten statuettes of boys from a fountain. Bronze. Hgt. 0.49, 0.47. (*G.* 864 *seq.*)

5006* ff. Five Sileni from a fountain. Bronze. Hgt. 0.32. (*G.* 869 *seq.*)

[Also *G.* 874 (5033).]

In the corner near the window—

4893.* Pig running. Bronze. Hgt. 0.40. (*G.* 863.)

FIFTH ROOM

HERCULANEUM BRONZES (*continued*)

On a column in front of the window—

5616.* (Relabelled.) Pseudo-Seneca. Hellenistic portrait. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.34. (*G.* 879.)

On a column to the left—

5607.* (Relabelled.) ? Portrait. ? Archita, ? Heracles, ? athlete. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.52. (*G.* 882.)

On a column to the right—

4896.* (Relabelled.) Ideal female bust. Bronze. Hgt. 0.47. (*G.* 891.)

In the middle on columns—

5623.* (Relabelled.) Hellenistic male portrait. ? Philosopher. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.56. (*G.* 881.)

5602.* (Relabelled.) Hellenistic male portrait. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.63. (*G.* 880.)

Passing round the room to the left—

5634.* (Relabelled.) Scipio Africanus Major. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.46. (*G.* 883.)

5598.* (Relabelled.) Hellenistic portrait. ? Male or female. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.42. (*G.* 884.)

5588.* (Relabelled.) Hellenistic male portrait. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.55. (*G.* 885.)

5596.* (Relabelled.) Portrait of a Ptolemy. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.58. (*G.* 888.)

5600.* (Relabelled.) Ptolemy Philadelphus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.55. (*G.* 889.)

5590.* (Relabelled.) Seleucus Nicator. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0.56. (*G.* 890.)

[Also *G.* 886 (5622); 887 (5631).]

In glass cases against the wall—left of the window—

25494. Bronze sun-dial, faced with silver, shaped like a ham. Hgt. mill. 118. (*G.* 898.)

5296.* Marsyas playing the flute. Bronze statuette. Hgt. 0115. (*G.* 899.)

5466.* (Relabelled.) Hermarchus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0193. (*G.* 900.)

5469.* Small male bronze bust, with beard. Demosthenes. Hgt. 0285. (*G.* 901.)

5465.* (Relabelled.) Epicurus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0196. (*G.* 902.)

5292.* (Rugg.) Faun. Bronze statuette, arms extended, thyrsus in right hand, left foot raised. Hgt. 0191. (*G.* 903.)
5467.* (Relabelled.) Demosthenes. Bronze bust. Hgt., base included, 0153. (*G.* 893.)
5468.* (Relabelled.) Zeno. Bronze bust. Hgt., small base included, 0175. (*G.* 894.)
5470. (Relabelled.) Epicurus. Bronze bust. Hgt., antique small base included, 0192. (*G.* 896.)
5471.* (Relabelled.) Metrodorus. Bronze bust. Hgt. 0184. (*G.* 895.)
[Also *G.* 897 (5474).]

Opposite case—
69762 to 69771. Bronze heads of tigers for jet of water. Hgt., mill. 117; width, mill. 132. (*G.* 892.)

Retracing our steps through the Herculaneum-Pompeii Bronze rooms, we turn to the right, then to the right again, and enter the

LAST PORTICO

HERCULANEUM BRONZES (*continued*)

Just outside this Portico stands—
5595. (Relabelled.) Augustus. Bronze statue. Hgt. 2.43. (*G.* 802.)

On the left—
115391. Bronze head of a horse. Fragmentary; restored. Length 0.35; width 0.37. (*G.* 801.)
[*G.* 800 (115390). Restored.]

On the right—
5615. (Relabelled.) Tiberius. Bronze statue. Hgt. 2.19. (*G.* 793.)

On the left—
5593. (Relabelled.) Claudius. Bronze statue. Hgt. 2.39. [*G.* 797 (3718). Inscription.]

On the right—
5589. Bronze female statue, larger than nature; long tunic and cloak, arms forward and hands open, ring on first finger. Hgt. 1.95. (*G.* 785.)

On the left—
5609. Bronze female statue, larger than nature; long tunic; cloak falling from the head and folded over the left arm. Hgt. 2.11. (*G.* 788.)

In the centre—

4904. Bronze horse, larger than nature. Hgt. 2.16. (*G.* 775.)

To the right—

5591. (Relabelled.) Lucius Mammius Maximus, priest of Augustus. Hgt. 2.13. [*G.* 766 (3740). Inscription.]

To the left—

5599. Bronze female statue, larger that nature ; long tunic with sleeves ; peplus. Called Antonia. Hgt. 2.15. (*G.* 770.)

5587.* Bronze male bust. (Comp. and De Petra.) Head only antique, partly covered. (Villa Suburbana.) Hgt. 0.56. (*G.* 762.)

To the right—

5597. (Relabelled.) Marcus Calatorius. Bronze statue. Hgt. 2.08. [*G.* 756 (5730). Inscription.]

To the left—

5612. Bronze female statue, larger than nature ; long tunic, and an ample shawl restored above the head. Hgt. 1.95. (*G.* 759.)

[*Also in this Portico*—

G. 759 (5612). Female statue.
761 (5606). Bust.
773 (5013). Statuette.
774 (5004). Statuette.
782 (5016). Statuette.
783 (5005). Statuette.
790 (5586). Bust.
791 (5601). Bust.

And the following inscriptions—

G. 753 (3708).
754 (3727).
757 (3726).
758 (3729).
760 (3728).
763 (3747).
764 (3750).
767 (3743).
768 (3751).
G. 769 (3759).
771 (3744).
772 (3746).
776 (3723).
777 (3749).
778 (109327).
779 (3738).
780 (3724).
781 (3722).
G. 784 (3720).
786 (3715).
787 (3721).
789 (3717).
792 (3714).
794 (3713).
795 (3716).
798 (3712).
799 (3719).]

GREAT STAIRCASE

[*G.* 1483 (6402).]
[*G.* 1484 (6376).]

THE ENTRESOL—EAST

CORRIDOR

[*G.* 1259 (9553).]

FIRST ROOM

ANCIENT FRESCOES

From the left—

9008. Hercules standing contemplates his son Telephus, indicated to him by a seated female figure personifying Arcadia, where Telephus passed his infancy ; a goat, a faun, lion, eagle. Hgt. 2.18 ; width 1.82. (*G.* 1272.)

9109. Cheiron and Achilles. Hgt. 1.27 ; width 1.27. (*G.* 1279.)

9094. Head of a woman crowned, perhaps, with palm. Hgt. 0.20 ; width 0.15.

9049. Theseus, conqueror of the Minotaur, surrounded by Athenian boys whom he has freed. Hgt. 1.95 ; width 1.55. (*G.* 1300.)

PAINTINGS ON MARBLE

In the centre, on a revolving stand—

9560. Monochrome. Painting on marble. Theseus attacks the centaur Eurytion about to seize Hippodamia, bride of Peirithous. Hgt. 0.35 ; width 0.50. (*G.* 1301.)

9562. Monochrome. Painting on marble. Latona meditating the destruction of the daughters of Niobe ; names accompany the figures. Game of Astragali. Name of painter, Alexander of Athens. Hgt. 0.42 ; width 0.39. (*G.* 1302.)

9564. Monochrome. Painting on marble : warrior and charioteer in quadriga. Hgt. 0.48 ; width 0.58. (*G.* 1303.)

9561. Monochrome. Painting on marble : Bacchic scene—much damaged. Hgt. 0.33 ; width 0.42. (*G.* 1305.)

9563. Monochrome. Painting on marble : tragic scene — three figures. Hgt. 0.33 ; width 0.44. (*G.* 1306.)

SECOND ROOM

From the left—

9147. Bacchante crowned with ivy. Chiaroscuro. Hgt. 0.15 ; width 0.25.

9539. Marsyas. Hgt. 0.19 ; width 0.51. (*G.* 1315.)

8976. Medea, holding a sword, meditates the murder of her children. Hgt. 1.33 ; width 0.42. (*G.* 1316.)

9267. Bacchus, a woman seated and two standing. Hgt. 0.19; width 0.52. (*G.* 1323.)

[Also *G.* 1321 (9265).]

THIRD ROOM

From the left—

9041. Phaedra seated. Her nurse speaks to Hippolytus, who moves towards the door, where a young man is holding a horse. Hgt. 0.98; width 0.96. (*G.* 1367.)

9522. Minerva presiding at the construction of the ship *Argo.* Hgt. 0.52; width 1.33.

9012. Hercules as a boy strangles two serpents; Alcmene his mother. Amphitryon seated; pedagogue holding Iphicles his brother. Hgt. 1.24; width 1.30. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1389.]

9011. Hercules fighting with the lion. Hgt. 0.47; width 0.84.

9006. Hercules carrying the wild boar on his shoulder. Eurystheus extends his arms towards him. Hgt. 0.47; width 0.44.

8993. Perseus rescues Andromeda from the monster. Hgt. 0.38; width 0.38. [*G.* no orig. 1358.]

[Also *G.* 1355 (9027).]

FOURTH ROOM

From the left—

9271. Ariadne sleeping, disclosed by Pan to Bacchus. Hgt. 0.76; width 0.63. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1405.]

9270. Education of Bacchus. Silenus seated; a nurse offers grapes; Mercury, Pan. Hgt. 0.69; width 0.67. [*G.* no orig. 1415.]

8984. Polyphemus receives from an amorino a letter sent by Galatea. Hgt. 0.58; width 0.58. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1417.]

8864. Hylas carried off by three nymphs; fragment of Hercules on right. Hgt. 0.46; width 0.96. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1419.]

[Also *G.* 1390 (9276); 1392 (9530); 1395 (9141); 1409 (9262); 1431 (9246).]

BETWEEN FOURTH AND FIFTH ROOMS

8791. A parrot draws a cart driven by a grasshopper. Hgt. 0.20; width 0.43.

FIFTH ROOM

From the left—

9133 ff. Four pictures, male and female centaurs. Hgt. 0.22; width 1.26. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, so-called Villa of Cicero, 1447.]

9194. Amorini raising a large staff. Hgt. 0.74; width 0.85.

9228. Amorini riding goats. Hgt. 0.46; width 1.36.

9103. Three boys playing a game (unknown) with a rope attached to a nail fixed in the ground. Hgt. 0.30; width 0.63.

9176. Four pieces—Amorini variously occupied—
- (1) One putting on a crown, one dancing.
- (2) One with an instrument like a harp, one with cymbals.
- (3) One playing the double flute, one dancing.
- (4) One with a torch, one playing the lyre and dancing.

Hgt. 0.24; width 1.60.

9177. Four pieces—
- (1) A cock pecking a garland.
- (2) Two amorini fishing.
- (3) Three amorini—one kneeling, one fallen backwards, one holding a mask.
- (4) A loom—one amorino working, another helping.

Hgt. 0.24; width 1.54.

9210. Two pieces—
- (1) A seat; two amorini.
- (2) A seat; doves; two amorini.

Hgt. 0.22; width 0.75.

9178. Four pieces—
- (1) Three amorini playing at hide-and-seek.
- (2) A chariot drawn by two amorini and driven by another.
- (3) Amorini with instruments and thyrsus.
- (4) Amorino playing the flute in a chariot drawn by griffins, driven by another.

Hgt. 0.24; length 1.60.

9179. Four pieces—
- (1) Amorini as vintners.
- (2) Amorini playing a game (unknown).
- (3) Amorini as shoemakers.
- (4) Amorini as carpenters. (*G.* 1455.)

9020. Male seated figure, nude; portion of male figure standing, portion of a horse. Hgt. 0.44; width 0.44. (*G.* 1468.)

9019. Three figures—apparently a tragic actor seated, who dictates to a woman kneeling; another male figure. Hgt. 0.39; width 0.39. (*G.* 1470.)

9021. Represents a concert of music (parts missing). Hgt. 0.44; width 0.44. (*G.* 1473.)

9022. Four female figures—one seated, one standing, and one arranging another's hair. Hgt. 0.44; width 0.44. (*G.* 1471.)

SIXTH ROOM

From the left—

8962. Draped female figure crowned with leaves. Hgt. 1.12; width 0.46.

We now return through and pass into the Inner Rooms. In the

SECOND ROOM

8924. (Cf. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 1904, p. 177.) Represents a ceremony in worship of Isis. In the centre, an altar for sacrifice and two ministrants—a third raises his hand; crowd by the foot of staircase leading to the temple, where three figures are seen. Hgt. 0.86; width 0.85. (*G.* 1346.)

8919. Represents a ceremony in worship of Isis. Round an altar eleven persons, among whom a woman kneeling with offerings. On the approach to the temple six persons, among whom a man, semi-nude, preparing to dance. Hgt. 0.89; width 0.86. (*G.* 1347.)

8508. Mount Ida, with representation of its protecting deity in the background. Paris pasturing his flock. Hgt. 0.73; width 0.58.

[Also in the inner rooms or corridors, *G.* 1331 (9261); 1333 (no number); 1348 (9251).]

FOURTH AND LAST ROOM

THE RESERVED CABINET

Several objects in this room are from Herculaneum. Especially noteworthy is

27709.* Pan with a goat. Marble group. Hgt. 0.442.

27701. Painting of a faun and a youth. Hgt. 0.38; width 0.35.

FIRST FLOOR—EAST

Turning to the right, we enter the room containing the Pompeian pigments, etc.

The glass cases round the room contain remains of comestibles, etc., including from Herculaneum—

84699.	Eggs.
84640.	Knucklebones.
84741.	Bread.
84704.	Bread.
84709.	Pitch.
84768 84765 84762 84767	Cord.
109782 84721	Nets.
84722.	Floats.
84739.	Crewels.

Several of the frescoes on the walls are from Herculaneum, including—

From the left—

9037. Comic scene between two women and a slave concerning the gesture of the latter against the evil eye. Hgt. 0.40; width 0.40. (*G.* 1803.)

9035. Comic scene—an old man surprises his son, and a slave, and a flute-player. Hgt. 0.40; width 0.41. (*G.* 1804.)

[Also *G.* 1807 (9024).]

THE NEXT ROOM

Some of the frescoes on the walls are from Herculaneum, including—

From the left—

9055. Four chariots racing. Hgt. 0.57; width 0.92.

8559. War chariot, griffins, etc.

Turning to the left we enter

FIRST ROOM OF THE SMALL BRONZES

Thence we pass to the

SECOND ROOM OF THE SMALL BRONZES

In front of the window, on a mosaic table from Pompeii—

72995 Tripod; triangular plinth, lions' paws, sphinxes, rich decoration. Hgt., mill. 925; diam. of basin, mill. 450. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1542.]

The glass cases round the room contain many objects from Herculaneum, especially—

To the right—

5486. Bronze statuette of an Ethiopian dancing. Hgt. 0.163.
5026. Bronze male statuette; mantle, right foot on a rock. Hgt. 0.33. (*G.* 1606.)
5306. Bronze bust, called Bacchus, head covered, right hand on left shoulder. Hgt. 0.176. [*G.* orig. ? H. or P. 1608.]
5301. Bronze bust. Bacchus, crowned with ivy, eyes of silver. Hgt. 0.160. [*G.* orig. ? H. or P. 1608.]
5305. Bronze bust. Faun crowned with ivy. Hgt. 0.158. [*G.* orig. ? H. or P. 1608.]
5302. Bronze bust. Faun holding a serpent. Hgt. 0.160. [*G.* orig. ? H. or P. 1608.]

To the left—

5010. Bronze female statuette, draped, standing on a globe (Fortuna). Signs of wings, which are wanting. Hgt. 0.39. (*G.* 1590.)
5313. Bronze statuette of Fortuna on antique base, inlaid with silver; lotus-flower, horn of abundance, helm. Hgt. with base, 0.43. (*G.* 1592.)
5133. ("Venere delle Fascette.") Bronze statuette. Venus, standing on right foot, removes gold anklet from the left. Antique base inlaid with silver. Hgt. 0.182. (*G.* 1570.)
5199. Bronze statuette. Neptune, nude, spear in left hand. Hgt. with base and spear, 0.297.
5024. Bronze statuette. Diana about to shoot. Hgt. 0.35. (*G.* 1583.)
5009. Bronze statuette. Bacchus, nude, thyrsus in left hand. Hgt. 0.59. (*G.* 1588.)
5288. Bronze statuette. Pallas. Hgt. with antique base, 0.250. (*G.* 1565.)

[Also *G.* 1566 (5283); 1567 (5280); 1568 (5128); 1569 (5132); 1575 (7643); 1580 (5337); 1584 (5396); 1586 (5022); 1587 (5427); 1589 (5317); 1594 (various numbers, P. or H.); 1603 (5472); 1605 (5473); 1608 (various numbers, P. or H.).]

Turning to the left we enter the

THIRD ROOM

(*N.B.*—In the French edition of Monaco's guide the route followed differs slightly from this.)

In front of the window, on a table—

4996. Bronze equestrian statuette. Alexander. Hgt. 0.49. (*G.* 1487.)

4999. Bronze equestrian statuette. Amazon. Hgt. 0.51. (*G.* 1489.)

4894. Bronze statuette. Horse in movement. Hgt. 0.47. (*G.* 1488.)

In the glass case opposite the window—

5489. Bronze relief. Boar driven to sacrifice. Hgt. 0.079. (*G.* 1494.)

4905. Bronze pig. On the body HEP · VOE · M · L · Hgt. 0.117. (*G.* 1493.)

4906. Bronze rabbit. Hgt. 0.119.

[Also *G.* 1518 (5332); 1519 (5242); 1522 (5460); 1540 (5264).]

Turning to the right we enter the

FOURTH ROOM

On a marble table—

73146. Large bronze vase: form, conical-inverted; feet, lions' paws; handles, warriors; various inlayings of silver. Hgt. including base, mill. 575; diam. of opening, mill. 310. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1610.]

To the right and left, on two columns—

68854. Bronze pail: handles movable, fixed by rosettes; band of rich ornament; rests on three symbolical animals. Hgt. including feet, 0.42 (restored); diam. at rim, 0.32. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1647.]

68866. Bronze pail: handles ornamented with silver balls; richly-decorated frieze; rests on three small plinths. Hgt. 0.38; diam. at rim, 0.32. (*G.* 1614.)

The glass cases contain many metal vases, vase-handles, lamps, etc., from Herculaneum, especially—

In the case to the right—

69167. Vase—shape of goose's beak; handle, foliage with two goats. Hgt. 0.15. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1645.]

In the case to the left—

72199. Bronze candelabrum. On a base stands a Silenus, a tree branches above his head. Total hgt., mill. 320. (*G.* 1629.)

[Also *G.* 1634 (various, P. and H.); 1638 (69454); 1644 (69174).]

FIFTH ROOM

On a marble table—

4993. Bronze lamp, circular base, figure of a boy by a column. Hgt. 067. [*G.* orig. Pompeii, 1648.]

To the right, on a small table—

73145. Large vase, spheroid in form; silver inlayings; four handles (restored). Total hgt., mill. 505. (*G.* 1653.)

The glass cases contain many objects from Herculaneum, especially—

72592. Handle representing a Phrygian figure standing on a mask. Hgt., mill. 303; width, mill. 65. [*G.* no orig. 1659.]

72600. Handle; fine arabesques in silver; Medusa mask (repaired). Hgt., mill. 225; width, mill. 153.

[Also *G.* 1650 (73515); 1672 (73115).]

SIXTH ROOM

On a mosaic table—

72231. Lamp-holder on plinth; a tree with lamps hanging from its branches. Total hgt., mill. 910. [*G.* orig. Pomp. 1674.]

72191. Candelabrum; column carrying four supports. Total hgt., mill. 770. [*G.* orig. Pomp. 1675.]

In front of the window to the left—

5017. Bronze figure of a boy, nude, running with a torch in left hand. Hgt. 0.56. (*G.* 1677.)

The glass cases include several objects from Herculaneum, especially—

To the right—

74009. Altar; four uprights; two orders of perforated bands. Hgt., mill. 170.

[Also *G.* 1684 (73033); 1685 (73027).]

SEVENTH ROOM

On a table of ancient marble—

72983. Bronze brazier in form of walls and towers. Hgt. to top of towers, mill. 315. [*G.* orig. Pomp. 1696.]

The glass cases include objects from Herculaneum.

EIGHTH ROOM

A large number of the metal objects of domestic use in this room are from Herculaneum. We may notice

From the left, in a free glass case—

75478. Plate of bronze with rings attached.

Against the wall—

78621. Bell, of disc form. Diam., mill. 250.
77609. Strainer, low relief of Venus in centre.
73431. Patera, shallow vessel for libation or drinking, with handle representing a ram's head. Diam., mill. 203.
73508. Crater; handles with festoons and heads of Medusa. Hgt., mill. 135.

[Also *G.* 1774 (76622).]

We now retrace our steps as far as the Third Room of the Small Bronzes, which we leave by the small winding staircase in the corner.

SECOND FLOOR

[On this floor are *G.* 1821 (6382), statuette; 1841 (6111), statuette.]

At the top of the winding staircase, passing through the First Room, we enter the

SECOND ROOM

In the table-case in the centre the following are among the Herculaneum articles—

78455. Bone spoon.
78458. Bone spoon.
78457. Nine small bone sticks; another; other bone objects.

Passing through the Third Room we enter the

[Among glass *G.* 1848 (110119).]

FOURTH ROOM

Room of the Gold Ornaments

Herculaneum's richness may be realised from the fact that, in 1852, 167 gold objects and 130 of silver from this site were recorded in the Naples Museum Inventory of Precious Objects!

We may notice in the table-case nearer the window, second row from the window side, seventh from the right as we face the window—

25033. Ring, containing small emerald. Diam., mill. 88.

In the table-case farther from the window, again facing the window, and beginning at the top left-hand corner—

First row—

25086. Ring; flattened bezel, where figure of a boy incised. Diam., mill. 23.
25087. Ring; bezel has a figure. Diam., mill. 18.
25062. Ring; bird incised on flattened bezel. Diam., mill. 17.
25069. Ring; bird with branch incised on bezel. Diam., mill. 15.
25079. Ring; perhaps garland incised on bezel. Diam., mill. 17.
25093. Ring; garland with $\frac{\text{VOT}}{\text{M}}$ in centre incised on bezel. Diam., mill. 14.
25072. Ring; fine gold wire; perhaps relief of serpent on bezel. Diam., mill. 14.
25073. Ring. Diam., mill. 18.
25057. Ring; fish on bezel. Diam., mill. 13.
25068. Ring; ear of corn incised on bezel. Diam., mill. 21.

Second row—

25056. Ring; ear of corn incised on bezel. Diam., mill. 18.
25052. Small ring; ear of corn on bezel. Diam., mill. 13.
25055. Ring; ear of corn on bezel. Diam., mill. 17.

Third row—

25001. Ring formed by small plate. Diam., mill. 16.
25190. Ring; wire. Diam., mill. 17.
25004. Ring. Diam., mill. 17.
25025. Ring. Diam., mill. 18.
25007. Ring; flattened bezel. Diam., mill. 18.

Fourth row—

25038. Ring formed of a serpent. Diam., mill. 16.
25029. Ring; thin plate uniting with two serpents' heads damaged. Diam., mill. 22.

Fifth row—

25037. Ring; double-headed serpent, eyes of emerald. Diam., mill. 21.
25042. Ring formed of a twisted serpent. Diam., mill. 20.
25041. Ring formed of a serpent. Diam., mill. 21.

Sixth row—

25047. Ring. Diam., mill. 20.
25189. Ring. Diam., mill. 18.
25051. Ring; wire. Diam., mill. 20.
25050. Ring; wire. Diam., mill, 20.
25174. Ring; wire. Diam., mill. 18.

25191. Ring ; wire. Diam., mill. 20.

25091. Ring ; gilded metal ; letters S.C. and joined hands between. Diam., mill. 21.

In the wall-cases round the room, starting to the right of the door by which we entered ; and in each case working from left to right on each shelf, starting at the top.

Third case—

24785. Bracelet ; plate bent. Diam., mill. 85.
24784. Bracelet ; plate bent. Diam., mill. 95.
24995. Bracelet ; plate bent. Diam., mill. 75.
24986. Bracelet ; plate bent. Diam., mill. 71.
24987. Bracelet, similar to 24986.
24990. Bracelet ; plate bent. Diam., mill. 75.

Fourth case—

24744. Small twisted plate pierced at extremities ; in the centre a circle stamped. Length, mill. 95.
24938. Small bracelet ; fragmentary. Diam., mill. 31.
24932. Small bracelet ; leaf ; two circles. Diam., mill. 35.

Fifth case—

24817. Earring ; form, needle and ball. Hgt., mill. 18.
24840. Earring ; form, quarter globe with raised points on it. Hgt., mill. 28.
24812. Earring ; form, quarter globe with raised points on it. Hgt., mill. 30.

Sixth case—

24607. Necklace ; chain of gold ; emeralds. Length, mill. 55.
24617. Necklace ; chain of gold ; emeralds. Length, mill. 300.

Ninth case—

24689. Small gold figure of a boy with wings ; vine-branches crosswise. Hgt., mill. 20.
24650. Gold " bulla " of two convex plates ; covered by another finely worked. Total hgt., mill. 70.
24687. Small female standing figure, nude ; ribbon falling from head. Hgt., mill. 12.
24715. Pin representing figure of a boy with wings ; vine-branches from head ; right hand holding disc, left some instrument. Hgt. of pin, mill. 50.

Tenth case—

24631. Earring ; circular form ; pastes (existing separate). Diam., mill. 21.
24774. Earring ; circular form ; pearls, pendant with another. Length, mill. 45.

24634. Earring; fragmentary. Length, mill. 31.

24622. Earring; gold pin hooked; shaft suspended; pearl. Length, mill. 32.

24635. Earring similar to 24634. Length, mill. 28.

24707. Earring; two gold circles. Diam., mill. 12.

24640. Earring; pin and bar, from which hanging gold wires ended with pearls. Length, mill. 25.

24623. Earring, similar to 24622.

24613. Earring, similar to 24640.

24641. Earring, similar to 24640.

24625. Earring, similar to 24640 (and 24624).

24632. Earring, similar to 24640.

24680. Earring; two circles, similar to 24707. Diam., mill. 10.

24703. Earring; gold pin hooked with plate of gold at extremities. Length, mill. 30.

24644. Earring; gold wire bent to circle; hanging circle with pearl. Length, mill. 20.

24702. Earring; gold pin bent; circular plate of gold. Length, mill. 30.

24614. Earring, similar to 24640.

FIFTH ROOM

SILVER

On a column near the window—

25283. Ring with palm cut on the shield.

In two glass cases nearer the window. In that to the right as we leave the window—

25289. Silver situla. *Repoussé*. Women in bath. Hgt., mill. 270; diam. 260. (*G.* 1875.)

25492. Silver high-relief. Diana (head and background broken). Diam., mill. 230. (*G.* 1877.)

25493. Silver high-relief. Apollo (background broken). Diam., mill. 232. (*G.* 1877.)

In that to the left—

25495. Circular plate of silver; in low-relief, seated Silenus playing lyre (damaged). Diam., mill. 98. (*G.* 1876.)

25488. Circular plate of silver; two genii dancing to the flute. Diam., mill. 95. (*G.* 1876.)

In the glass cases to the left farther back—

25301. Silver mortar; bas-relief of three figures and eagle; supposed apotheosis of Homer. Hgt., mill. 128; diam., mill. 150. (*G.* 1879.)

Round the walls—

25290. Tazza; decorated frieze; circular foot. Hgt., mill. 65; diam., mill. 90.

25291. Tazza, similar to 25290.

25378. Silver vase; two handles; frieze of ivy. Hgt., mill. 120; diam., mill. 110. (*G.* 1880.)

25379. Silver vase, similar to 25378.

25696. Tazza; various chiselled ornamentation. Hgt., mill. 90; diam., mill. 185.

25601. Tazza; three small feet representing tigers' heads. Hgt., mill. 69; diam., mill. 100.

25490. Bas-relief of silver; three figures, etc.; the back a mirror (modern frame). Diam., mill. 170. [*G.* orig. Pomp. 1881.]

SIXTH ROOM

In a glass case in the centre—

5673. Bronze helmet (? Iliupersis). Hgt., mill. 450; width, mill. 452. [*G.* orig. left uncertain, 1897.]

In the glass cases round the walls, from the left—

5642. Bronze helmet, movable plates of metal over face. Hgt., mill. 340; width, mill. 330. [*G.* no orig. 1901.]

5643. Bronze helmet, similar to 5642. Hgt., mill. 400; width, mill. 330. [*G.* no orig. 1901.]

Hence we pass to the

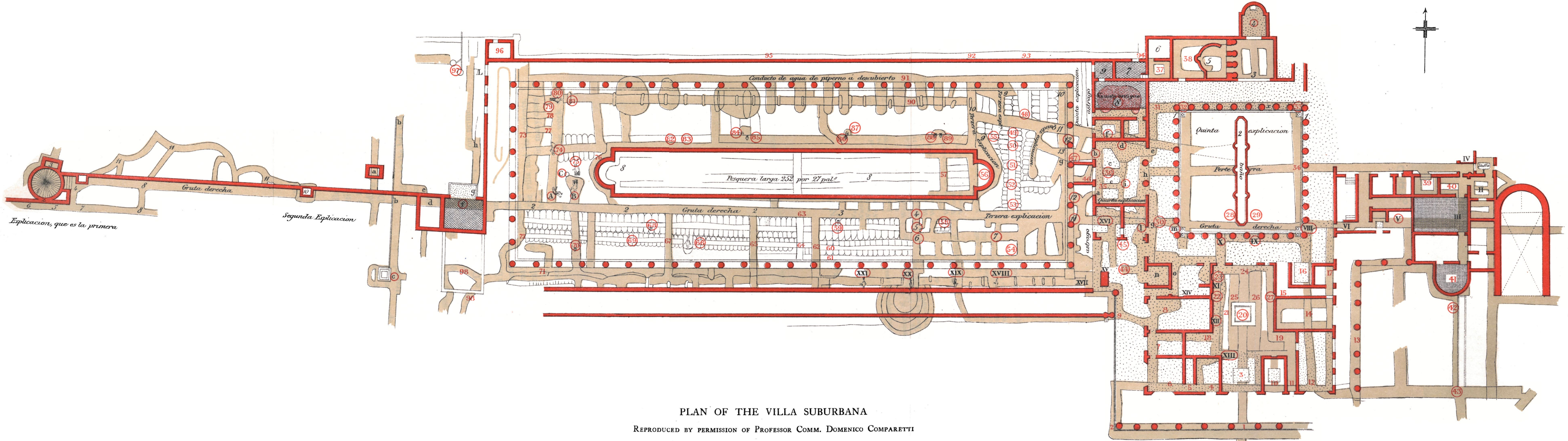
ROOM OF THE PAPYRUS ROLLS

On each side is a glass case, containing specimens of papyri from Herculaneum, fastened to the machine for unrolling, invented by Piaggio, whose portrait is shown in the case to the left.

Between this room and that of medals [*G.* 1913 (6386)].

There are many objects from Herculaneum in other places than Naples, chiefly in museums. We make no attempt to enumerate them all. For the pictures (of which the British Museum has two, both in the Gold Room) we refer the reader to Helbig's *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, 1868, where a complete museographical index will be found.

In addition, we may notice two busts, of Bacchus and Hercules, in the Palazzo Reale at Naples ; three draped female marble statues, from the Theatre, in the Museum of Antiquities at Dresden (Sixth Hall, Nos. 162, 163, 164) ; and a Roman boy's gold " bulla " at Oxford, in the Ashmolean Museum ; this last was presented by the Court of Naples to the Empress Josephine (Pourtalès Cat. 1865, No. 1309, Oldfield Coll.).


Explicacion, que es la primera
Gruta derecha
Segunda Explicacion
Conducto de agua de piperno á descubierto
Pesquera larga 252 por 27 pal.s
Gruta derecha
Terzera explicacion
Terzera explicacion
Terzera explicacion
Quinta explicacion
Quinta explicacion
astrago
astrago
Quarta explicacion
Quinta explicacion
Perte
baño
rra
Gruta derecha
Stuffa
96
97
95
92
93
94
91
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XXI
XX
XIX
XVIII
XVII
XVI
XV
XIV
XIII
XII
XI
X
IX
VIII
VI
V
IV
III
II
I

PLAN OF THE VILLA SUBURBANA

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From *Villa Ercolanese, etc.*, by Comparetti and De Petra

APPENDIX IV

GUIDE TO THE VILLA SUBURBANA WITH ACCOMPANYING PLAN

The following index-guide accompanies the facsimile of the plan of the Villa Suburbana (Plate 48), published by Comparetti and De Petra, which was taken from that made by Weber in the years 1750 to 1758, and to which they added red Arabic numerals corresponding to indications set out in their topographical description (Comp. e De Petra, pp. 291-94), from which this index is extracted.

By following the numerals which stand in our index to the left of the page at the commencement of lines, and which correspond to the red numerals in the plan, it may be possible, as it were, to visit the villa from the entrance inwards, noting by the way points indicated in black letters and numerals of various kinds which date from the original plan and from descriptions (" explicaciones ") made under a series of areas, in Spanish, by the explorers (see Comp. e De P., pp. 221, 224, " explicacion primera segunda," etc. etc.).

The italic lettering in this index, and the numerals and letters enclosed in a red circle on the plan, denote objects or works of art, and it is hoped that this separate indication may render possible a more clear idea of the wealth as well as of the general disposition of the villa and its contents. These latter were, however, at the time of the eruption, in many cases evidently not in permanent position.

The references (Cat. 140), etc., are to the catalogue in the work of Comparetti and De Petra. The references (Inv. 5600), etc., are to the numbers in the Inventory of the Museo Nazionale, which are also the numbers in the Guide by Dom. Monaco.

In our list of objects, Appendix III., these numbers are marked by an asterisk in all instances where identification has appeared certain.

In the accompanying plan—

The surfaces spotted denote mosaic pavement.

The surfaces crossed denote marble.

The brown colouring denotes passages of excavation ("gruta").

The thin lines in honeycomb indicate spaces opened and filled in during excavation.

Slight sketches of a statue, a bust (see Comp. e De Petra, p. 225), indicate the spot where such objects were discovered (see Comp. e De Petra, pp. 225, 226). L. S.

1. 2. The Entrance Portico faced the sea. It was not entirely excavated, but we may feel sure that it covered the front of Room 12.

3. "Fauces." This entrance passage is much wider proportionately to the Atrium than in Pompeian houses.

18. 19. Atrium. Two rooms, as two "alae" (rooms to which no definite use can be assigned in later times. Mau-Kelsey, p. 258). With the exception of these rooms none open on to the Atrium. In this respect the villa is again dissimilar to the generality of houses at Pompeii.

To the left of the Atrium are the following :—

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Rooms.
5 was a store-room.
XIV. Corridor.
o. Room.
Paved with mosaic as indicated on the plan.
Corn found here.

9. Double column marking the commencement of one of the walls which enclosed the garden.

(A subterranean aqueduct, vaulted, traversed this part of the house, o, XIV : at XIII an iron grating, Cat. 140.)

To the right of the Atrium are the following :—

10. Room by itself.
11. Passage, probably indicating a secondary entrance.
12. Room corresponding in space to 6 and 7, apparently "fenestrata."
13. (See below after 17.)
14. Room.
15. Passage.
16. Room.
17. Room.
13. 42. "Cavaedium," *i.e.* "cavum aedium," hollow building, court.
18. (See above between 3 and 4.)

On the wall towards XIII were—

3 pictures of birds and animals.
1 larger picture—birds.
2 smaller pictures with ducks.

19. (See above between 3 and 4.)

[20 to 27 denote various points in the atrium.]

The pavement of the atrium was of coarse black and white mosaic, and represented round the impluvium an enclosing line of walls with towers.

20. The IMPLUVIUM or shallow basin into which the rain-water fell. It was below the "compluvium" or "opening in the roof." Mau-Kelsey, p. 250.

On the marble curb of the four sides and in the centre of the impluvium stood—

11 bronze statuettes (Cat. 44-50, 53-56) (INV. 5015, 5011, 5012, 5007, 5006, 5031, 5033, 5030, 5028, 5029, 5020).
2 round bases, which did not correspond to any of the statuettes found here.

[21. Point in the atrium—no mention in topographical description of Comparetti e De Petra.]

ON THE LEFT SIDE IN THE ATRIUM in the recess XII there was a *leaden basin for a fountain* (Cat. 149), the lip of which was surrounded by 14 heads of tigers (10 only in Museo Naz., INV. 69762 to 69771), from which the water flowed. (Possibly the *ox's horn* in bronze found near this point also belonged to this fountain.)

22. Recess, in which were—

Headless bust (Cat. 32), *bronze* [not in Museo Naz.].
Bust of Ptolemy Lathyrus (Cat. 21), *bronze* (INV. 5600).

23. Recess, in which were—

Dancing faun (Cat. 51) (INV. 5292).
Faun playing the flute (Cat. 52) (INV. 5296).
Five candelabra (Cat. 114).
Ox's horn, *bronze* (referred to above).

Also—

Two fragments of a painted frieze (Cat. 107) (INV. 8548) and (Cat. 107b). (This frieze must certainly have gone round the whole atrium, as on the opposite side, towards point 27, there was found another fragment of the painted decoration (Cat. 106).)

24. 25. 26. Points in the centre of the atrium—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.

ON THE RIGHT SIDE IN THE ATRIUM—

27. Possibly here in a recess and balancing 22 was the *Bust of Ptolemy Alexander* (supposed), *bronze* (Cat. 22) (INV. 5596).

IN THE PERISTYLIUM, which was north of the atrium at IX, X, inside the columns were *two busts*, *bronze* (Cat. 10, 23) (INV. 5602, 5588).

28. 29. Perhaps here by the end of a basin of water were *two other busts of bronze.* Of these busts one only was found (Cat. 30) (INV. 5598) placed on a stele which had an inscription on it (Cat. 108).

The pillar alone was found which would have belonged to the other. It had two lateral projections at the place of the arms (Cat. 160).

We have here indication of change in position of objects in the villa which was occurring in the time that preceded the eruption. Of this further indications are—the two round bases without corresponding figures mentioned above as attached to the impluvium of the atrium ; the statuettes in room **d** of "Explicacion" II ; the arrangement of the statues of dancers and of the marble busts on the southern side of the garden.

30. IN THE AMBULACRUM at this point were found— *Two boxes of wood containing many Greek papyri.*

(The lids having been broken, only a third were found in the boxes and the rest scattered.)

[31. Point in ambulacrum—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]

IN EACH ANGLE OF THE PERISTYLIUM was a bust of bronze, or rather at

32. Points 32 and **m** were herms, *Doryphorus* and *Amazon* (Cat. 6, 7) (INV. 4885, 4889).

And at the two points of the eastern side 33 and VIII were

33. *Portraits of philosophers* (Cat. 8, 9) (INV. 5607, 5623).

In front of each of these was a small *fountain of marble* (Cat. 151).

At the two angles of the southern side (that is the side next to the "atrium") were *two "puteoli" of marble*, *i.e.* round cistern mouths (Mau-Kelsey, p. 250) decorated with bas-reliefs (Cat. 157, 158).

[34. Point on east side of Peristylium—no mention in description of Comp. e De P.]

35. The TABLINUM or reception-room (more anciently summer dining-

room. Tabulinum from "tabula," a board. Mau-Kelsey, p. 257) is to the left or west of the Peristylium,

36. towards which it stands open except for two pillars, between which stood the *archaistic Minerva* (Cat. 81) (Inv. 6007).

On the side of the garden the Tablinum had three doors. It measures met. 11.11 × 8.20.

In the centre stood *eight busts, bronze*, arranged thus : ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ ▪ (Cat. 4, 5, 12, 14, 26-28, 31) (Inv. 5614, 5633, 5469, etc.).

At the head of the room at point **d** was placed the *marble statue of a lady veiled* (Cat. 87) (Inv. 6240).

Towards the angle **b** and at **i** were found the *papyri* and *waxed tablets* which were first discovered.

On the South Side of the Tablinum are rooms XVI and **l**, both paved with mosaic, that of XVI having been noted as one of the best in variety of colours.

In XVI were found on April 8, 1753, *a few papyri* and perhaps *the small bust of Metrodorus* (Cat. 18) (Inv. 5471).

In **l** was found a *painted Amorino* (Cat. 90) (Inv. 9319).

Against the wall separating these two rooms was perhaps placed at point 45 the *celebrated bust of Dionysus* (Cat. 2) (Inv. 5618), and probably facing it at point 44 *an ideal herm of marble* (Cat. 68) (Inv. 6164).

On the North Side of the Tablinum are the following:—

Room **f**, from the walls of which was taken the *painted head of a woman* (Cat. 93).

A passage.

Room **8**, which was paved with coloured marbles (as denoted on the plan). Here were found *four small busts called Demosthenes, Epicurus, Hermarchus, and Zeno* (Cat. 11, 13, 16, 17) (Inv. 5467, 5465, 5466, 5468).

Room 9 also with a pavement of coloured marbles.

On the further or northern side of the Peristylium are the following :—

37. (By mistake in the plan of C. e De P. the indication of the door from the Peristylium has been omitted.)

Room communicating with room **7**. This latter has a marble pavement.

It also communicates with room **6**.

38. A large Oecus or large apartment which seems often to have been used as a dining-room, especially on notable occasions (Mau-Kelsey, p. 265). This is divided by a "podium," or low wall of semicircular form, the object of which is not clear.

Four pilasters back to back with four columns separate this "oecus" from room **3**, the marble pavement of which is described by Bayardi (see footnote Comp. e De P., p. 293).

Next comes room **4**. Here on a podium of masonry were found the *feet of a statue with the corresponding base* (Cat. 89).

To THE RIGHT OF THE PARTS ABOVE MENTIONED indications are wanting as regards a considerable portion of the villa which had been incompletely examined at the time when Weber abandoned his plan. The baths, however, and the library can be recognised.

39. 40. BATHS. Here at I, II the pavement was raised above the ordinary level for the circulation of hot air.

The LIBRARY was in the room **V**. Here the volumes were placed in shelves to a height slightly higher than that of a man round the room, and in the two sides of a cupboard put in the middle of it.

Eighteen volumes were found tied up in a bundle and shut in a box (see Comp. e De P., p. 242).

Winckelmann says that other volumes, perhaps parts of a whole work, were tied together and wrapped in rougher papyrus (Werke ii. p. 157 § 94).

Also in the EASTERN PART OF THE VILLA are—

Room III paved with coloured marbles.

41. A horse-shoe-shaped room also with pavement of coloured marbles.

42. 13. The "cavaedium" or court which contained

43. 42. The canaliculum or channel. This brought the water to large *dolia* or earthenware jars (Cat. 148) which were found in fragments.

[44. 45. See farther back under south side of Tablinum.]

WESTERN PART OF THE VILLA

46. Here by a PASSAGE FROM THE TABLINUM (which is to the west of the Peristylium and has already been described) you pass into the

GARDEN. This MUSEUM GARDEN is a spacious oblong of met. 94.44 × 31.74.

The PORTICO, which went round the whole of it, was supported externally by walls and internally by columns covered with stucco, and of these there were twenty-five on each of the long sides and ten on the short, counting the columns of the angles twice.

In the centre was a Piscina or tank (met. 66.76 × 7.14) terminated by a semicircle at each end.

IN THE EASTERN PORTICO, that is the side next to the Tablinum, were placed—

47. 11, 12. *Four marble statues.* Of these three were found almost entire, namely *Aeschines*, *Homer*, and the *orator* (Cat. 83-85) (INV. 6018, 6126, 6210).

Of the fourth (Cat. 88) an *arm and a foot* only were found.

48 to 55. In this space between the Eastern Portico and the Piscina were placed many bronze figures, namely—

The running Wild Boar (Cat. 65) (INV. 4893).
The archaic bust of Apollo (Cat. 1) (INV. 5608).
The Priestess Berenice (Cat. 24) (INV. 5592).
Two Deer (Cat. 62, 63) (INV. 4886, 4888).
Fragments of a Hind (Cat. 64) (not in Mus. Naz.).
Bust of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Cat. 20) (INV. 5594).

Fragments of a bronze statue (Cat. 61) (not in Mus. Naz.).

56. On the "corona" of the Piscina (Spanish "pesquera" or fish-pool—on the plan) was

The Sleeping Faun (Cat. 35) (INV. 5624) standing on a podium or parapet of masonry.

IN THE SOUTHERN PORTICO XVIII TO XXI were found—

Four statues of female dancers (Cat. 36, 39) (INV. 5604, etc.).

In the last of these the head and the right arm were missing. They were so placed that they constituted the adornment of only a third of this portico, the rest of it remaining empty.

[57. A point in the Piscina—no mention in topographical description of Comp. e De P.]

IN THE SPACE BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN PORTICO AND THE PISCINA were found—

7. *An ideal bust, bronze* (Cat. 3) (INV. 5610).
58. *Marble bust of a philosopher* (Cat. 72) (INV. 6152).
4. *Group of Pan with a she-goat* (Cat. 82) (INV. 27709).
5. *Bust of Alexander* (Cat. 73) (INV. 6149).
6. *Another marble bust of a philosopher* (Cat. 71) (INV. 6155).
59. *Marble bust of Anacreon* (Cat. 69) (INV. 6162).
[60 to 65. Various points in this space—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]
66. *Fifth statue of a female dancer* (Cat. 40) (INV. 5619).
[67. No mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]
68. *Marble bust of Ptolemy Soter* (supposed) (Cat. 76) (INV. 6158).
69. *Marble bust of a warrior with a helmet* (Cat. 74) (INV. 6151).

70. *Bronze bust of* (*Piso*) *Pseudo-Seneca* (Cat. 29) (Inv. 5616).

This bust of primary importance, however isolated, cannot be said to have been put in an unimportant corner, for it stood in relation to the most conspicuous group of works of art which existed in the villa, since

[71 to 73. Points in the passages of excavation—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]

In the space West of the Piscina, behind the western "corona" of the Piscina—that is, opposite the statue of the Sleeping Faun,—were placed round the fountain C—

74 and A. *The two Discoboli* (Cat. 42, 43) (Inv. 5626, 5627) at a small distance back.

75. *The Mercury* (Cat. 33) (Inv. 5625) } in the first line.
B. *The Drunken Faun* (Cat. 34) (Inv. 5628) }

[76. 77. 78. Points in this region—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]

This central group was flanked to the north by a group as follows :—

79. *The Praying Girl* (Cat. 41) (Inv. 5603).
80. *Bust of Ptolemy Soter I.* (Cat. 19) (Inv. 5590).
81. *Bust of Sappho* (supposed) (Cat. 25) (Inv. 4896).

And to the south by the bust of Piso, 70, as seen above.

In the space between the Northern Portico and the Piscina were found—

Four pairs of marble busts, namely—

82. *Demosthenes* (Cat. 70) (Inv. 6153).
83. *Hannibal* (Cat. 80) (Inv. 6154).
84. *Vesta* (Cat. 67) (Inv. 6188).
85. *Pallas* (Cat. 66) (Inv. 6322).
86. *Warrior crowned* (Cat. 75) (Inv. 6150).
87. *Lysias* (supposed) (Cat. 79) (Inv. 6147) ?
88. *Archimedes* (Cat. 77) (Inv. 6156).
89. *Attilius Regulus* (Cat. 78) (Inv. 6148).

[90. 91. Points in this region—no mention in topographical description of C. e De P.]

To the West of the Museum Garden it would appear that there was a

Garden in the usual sense of the word.

[92. 93. 94. 95. Points in the space north of the museum garden—perhaps garden.]

[96. Room opening into this space.]

97. Here were found *two fountains of marble* (Cat. 154, 155)—similar.

Another *fountain on four steps* was found at C (Cat. 150).

Probably the *four statuettes of bronze* found in room **d** (Cat. 57, 60) (Inv. 5023, 5027, 5021, 5032) were destined for this fountain.

Adjoining room **d** (to west of museum garden) room **f** had pavement and plinth of coloured marble, and contained—

Marble statue of a nude youth (Cat. 86) (Inv. 6105).

A fine marble vase (Cat. 156).

In front of rooms **d** and **f** was the beginning of a long ALLEY flanked by a wall.

At the end of this alley and at a higher level was the circular hall for conversation—

THE EXEDRA. The pavement of this exedra, made of cuneiform pieces of coloured marble, is now in the Museum at Naples.

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THE END

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